

# Forgotten Lives

The Role of Lenin's Sisters in the  
Russian Revolution, 1864–1937

Katy Turton



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# System of Transliteration and Clarification of Dates

I have used the Library of Congress system of transliteration throughout.

Until the Bolsheviks changed the Russian calendar on 14 February 1918, Russia followed the Julian (old style) calendar rather than the Gregorian (new style) calendar, which was used in the rest of Europe. The Julian calendar was twelve days behind the Gregorian calendar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and thirteen days behind it in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. I have used the Julian calendar for dates before 14 February 1918.



# Introduction

Writing in 1932, the historian D.S. Mirsky judged that Anna and Mariia Ul'ianova, Lenin's sisters, were 'more or less prominent members of the Social Democratic, and afterwards, of the Communist Party', but qualified his statement with the comment that 'their revolutionary importance is both enhanced and eclipsed by the immense figure of Vladimir Il'ich'.<sup>1</sup>

This is a problem faced by all historians of women who write about the wife, lover or sister of a famous man. The independent achievements of such a woman are overshadowed by the fact that her husband, lover or brother was prime minister, president, explorer or inventor.<sup>2</sup> Lenin lived his life surrounded by women, including his wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaja, and lover, Inessa Armand, his three sisters, Anna, Ol'ga (who died in 1890) and Mariia, as well as fellow revolutionaries like Aleksandra Kollontai and his staff of secretaries. They are all given passing mentions in biographies of Lenin, often as 'worshipful, subservient women' who were temporarily important to him or to his work.<sup>3</sup> In Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's case, the fact that they were 'only' Lenin's sisters, connected to him by chance and not his choice, has ensured that they are given even less historical attention than the women Lenin met in his lifetime. Biographies of Lenin tend to refer to his sisters only during his childhood and the early revolutionary period, and then during his illness, when Mariia, in particular, cared for him.<sup>4</sup> Between those years, readers are left to assume that Lenin had no meaningful contact with his sisters and that they played no role in his life (or the revolutionary movement) at all.

This is a pattern that is repeated in the history of the Russian revolution, as Stites demonstrates in *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*. Stites argues that in the revolutionary year of 1917, women

acted only as the initiators of the February revolution and as the defenders of the Provisional Government in October.<sup>5</sup> Women do not appear in histories of the interim period because at that time they did not walk the corridors of power and were not involved in the important decisions that changed the course of history. Therefore, he continues, 'there is no sense in trying to magnify the role played by the female half of the population during [1917]'.<sup>6</sup>

However, though women may not have been equally involved in making political decisions, they were there, in the buildings, around the politicians and were involved in all sorts of activities. There are, for example, sources that place Lenin's sisters, Anna and Mariia, and Trotsky's wife in the Bolshevik headquarters during the October days.<sup>7</sup> No doubt other women were there too, even if their presence was not noted, or even noticed. References to women at these times are few and far between because contemporaries did not see them as important, but this attitude has, from today's perspective, condemned women to disappear from histories of key events.

In the case of Lenin's sisters, their place in history has not simply been ignored and forgotten, in many cases it has been dismissed, as a result of the stylised portrayal of their lives. Inspired by N. Valentinov's description of the Ul'ianov family, I call it the solar system myth. Valentinov, a revolutionary who first met Lenin in 1904, wrote that Vladimir was like 'the sun in the planetary system of the Ul'ianovs', whom Mariia 'almost idolised' and Anna saw as 'an oracle'.<sup>8</sup> The solar system myth has been repeated by Soviet/Russian and Western texts alike. Tumarkin argues, for example, that the Ul'ianov women had 'a tendency [...] to imbue one of its male members with the status of a "star"'.<sup>9</sup>

This portrayal of the sisters influences and informs references to their actions and characters at all stages of their lives. Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's childhood is the period of their lives which receives the most attention from historians. This is not because researchers are interested in the sisters' early years in their own right, but because Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia were witnesses of Lenin's formative years.<sup>10</sup> However, even at this stage of the Ul'ianovs' lives, long before Vladimir even took the name Lenin, the sisters are portrayed as worshipful devotees of their brother, who sacrificed their own needs and ambitions in their quest to serve him. Service writes of the early years of the family:

[Vladimir] had not been 'spoiled' in the sense of being showered with presents or allowed to behave regularly in an ill-disciplined

manner. But [...] he had been surrounded by what might be called an aura of warmly expectant encouragement. His mother was endlessly attentive and sisters Anna, Ol'ga and – later – Mariia gave him whatever assistance he required. [...] As a young man he belatedly became a sort of a spoiled child nurtured by four women.<sup>11</sup>

According to the myth, it was Lenin who taught his sisters about Marxism and led them into the revolution. P.F. Kudelli, a revolutionary comrade of Anna's, wrote: 'Under the influence of reading and conversations with Vladimir Il'ich, a Marxist outlook began to take shape in Anna Il'inichna.'<sup>12</sup> Mariia's biographer, V. Diagilev, asserted: 'Doubtless, [Mariia] followed [Vladimir's] advice, especially regarding education, reading, choice of books and articles.'<sup>13</sup> Even Ol'ga, who is rarely described as a revolutionary, is portrayed as one led entirely by Vladimir's guidance: 'It is doubtless that Ol'ga was introduced to Marxist literature with her brother's help.'<sup>14</sup> This version of events has been accepted by Western historians as well.<sup>15</sup>

Once they had joined the revolutionary movement, the sisters became Lenin's devoted helpers, who acted only on their brother's instructions and whose whole lives were spent fulfilling tasks set by him. Valentinov writes of the underground years:

Service in every possible way became the absolutely first worry and care of the Ul'ianov family. They served [Vladimir] with special zeal in subsequent years, at the time of his stay in St Petersburg, during his illness, at the time of his imprisonment, his exile, and his emigration. The attention of the family was so steadfastly fixed on Vladimir Il'ich that the later life of the Ul'ianovs [...] produces a strange impression. All of them [...] no longer had a life of their own and no longer led an independent existence. On the contrary, they lived only by the light reflected from Ul'ianov-Lenin, by their thoughts about him, strictly carrying out the countless orders, requests, and errands which filled Lenin's letters to his family.<sup>16</sup>

Possony argued much the same in 1964, and though he makes a clear attempt to praise the sisters for their work, it is somewhat undermined because he refers to them as Lenin's women:

Throughout his life, Lenin relied upon the help of the women of his family. These women – his mother and his two sisters, and later his wife [...] were devoted admirers, eager to advance his career. Lenin

composed endless things 'to be done', and in following his instructions his women often made considerable sacrifices while assuming great risks.<sup>17</sup>

The solar system myth also has an impact on the way that the sisters' relationships with other men and women are portrayed. Anna and Mariia are both accused of treating Nadezhda with contempt because they viewed her as a rival for Vladimir's affections and were jealous of her close relationship with their brother.<sup>18</sup> It is also implied that Anna and Mariia's relationships with men were affected by their intense love for and devotion to Vladimir. Anna is portrayed as being kind to her beloved brother, but critical of, and bad-tempered towards, her husband.<sup>19</sup> Trotsky relates Mariia's status as an unmarried woman to her relationship with Lenin, describing Mariia as 'an old maid, reserved and stubborn, who concentrated all the strength of her unspent love on her brother Vladimir'.<sup>20</sup>

Finally, Anna and Mariia's work as revolutionaries have been almost completely overlooked by Western historians, their independent lives eclipsed by the solar system myth and forgotten, despite the fact that they were dedicated Bolsheviks, working as party correspondents and organisers, before the revolution and held a series of high-level government and party posts after it. They were, however, rarely involved in the Bolsheviks' campaigns directed at women and it is perhaps at least partly due to this that their lives have not captured the imagination of feminist historians, who have done so much to highlight women's role in the Russian revolutionary movement.

This book has two aims: firstly, to interrogate the portrayals of the sisters that have undermined them and relegated them to 'a single index reference, or the odd page' in English-language histories;<sup>21</sup> and secondly, to disentangle Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's lives and work from their portrayal, to view them not just as the sisters of Lenin, but as revolutionaries and political figures as well, who made a genuine contribution to the revolution.

In terms of approach, this book attempts to avoid being categorised as either compensatory or essentialist. The former type of history focuses on 'exceptional women' who 'exercised male power' and were successful according to a set of criteria that can be interpreted as inherently masculine.<sup>22</sup> These criteria value only political activity and public recognition. The essentialist approach describes and evaluates women's position in history using a new set of criteria, which differ from the 'male' values. Essentialist historians view women as a group different

from and separate to men and argue that women contribute to historical developments and experience historical events in their own way.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, this book aims to take an integrated approach, offering what others have term a 'synthesis', which deals with women and men simultaneously in discussions of history.<sup>24</sup> It recognises Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia as exceptional women, but addresses various aspects of their lives, from their education and political careers to their domestic and family life. It also gives due attention to the gender issues which the Ul'ianov women had to negotiate throughout their lives as well as to the way in which gender expectations influenced the portrayal of the sisters during their lifetime and in history.

To complete this integrated approach, Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's lives are placed in the context of the revolutionary community, in which women and men worked together, formed friendships and families, and campaigned to bring about the transformation of Russian society. Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's relationship with Lenin encapsulates this blending of the political and domestic, for they were his siblings, his comrades and his colleagues. The Ul'ianov family functioned as a mini-network of revolutionaries in which there was an exchange of support and advice and a high level of political cooperation, both before and after the revolution. It has been argued that this network helped Lenin achieve his leading role in the Party, but it was also advantageous for Anna and Mariia to be so closely connected with such an important revolutionary figure.<sup>25</sup>

Yet Anna and Mariia did not only work with their brother. The Russian Social Democratic Labour Party (RSDRP) was a party that, particularly before 1917, prided itself on close co-operation between its male and female members and even depended on it for its survival.<sup>26</sup> Thus, besides regularly co-operating with Lenin, Anna and Mariia also worked closely with a great many other long-serving party members, including N.I. Bukharin, M.S. Ol'minskii, P.F. Kudelli and the Krzhizhanovskii. Their experiences are examples of the way in which women and men worked together in the underground years and the Soviet regime, and contributed simultaneously to the history of the revolutionary movement.

When discussing the lives of Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia, it is useful to differentiate between the various relationships between the sisters and Lenin, and the ways in which these were perceived. Thus I will use the name Vladimir when referring to Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's day-to-day relationship with their brother, which operated on a familial and political level and was unaffected by the cult of personality. As Anna noted,



the sisters always called Vladimir by his first name or a diminutive of it: 'Lenin was the pseudonym of my brother, Vladimir Il'ich. [We] his sisters and brothers, did not call him that.'<sup>27</sup> When the name Lenin is used, it indicates the sisters' relationship with the leader of the Soviet Union as perceived by those outside the family, the one mythologised by subsequent writers.

Referring to Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia as the sisters, as I regularly do, may seem to be a lapse into a Lenin-centric approach, which undermines my own aim of viewing them as revolutionaries in their own right. However, besides using the term for practical and stylistic reasons, I use the term to highlight experiences and characteristics shared by Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia. In these cases, they are sisters of each other.

## On sources

This book is based on primary, archival research, with the majority of the material drawn from the sisters' personal files in RGASPI, The Russian State Archive of Social and Political History, in Moscow.

The sisters' files contain a wealth of materials, including drafts of memoirs, official and personal correspondence, police reports on the sisters' underground activities and reminiscences about the sisters by others. Although notes in the fond catalogue indicate that access to some documents was restricted at one time, I was not prevented from ordering any files. Almost all the documents I received were complete, including those relating to the sisters' various clashes with the Soviet authorities and Stalin. On the other hand, it is clear in the sisters' correspondence and even their draft memoirs that, in general, they exercised careful self-censorship. Letters rarely comment on current events and their draft reminiscences in the main match the final published versions. It is this self-censorship, rather than state censorship, that causes the most difficulties for the historian researching the sisters' lives. Their writings provide only an 'opaque window' onto their lives and experiences, thoughts and beliefs.<sup>28</sup>

Various factors explain this opacity, including gender. When writing autobiographies or referring to themselves in other types of text, women tend not to assert themselves, their actions or achievements. Indeed, they are often 'culturally enjoined not to promote themselves' and instead employ a variety of tactics to deflect attention from their role in events.<sup>29</sup> Women use the passive voice or the collective pronoun, they assert 'good fortune or the generosity of others' as the

reasons for their successes, and they highlight the fact that they were part of a group which shared the same experiences.<sup>30</sup> These strategies have been employed by women of various nationalities, at different historical periods, including Russian women, who, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century had to negotiate 'pervasive prejudices against the woman author'.<sup>31</sup>

Probably more influential on Anna and Mariia's writing was the fact that they were Bolsheviks. Amongst Bolsheviks, it was acceptable and encouraged that women participate fully in public life and revolutionary activities and that they write about their work. However, Bolshevism also reinforced the idea that women should not promote themselves in their writing, for Bolsheviks believed that revolutionaries (of both genders) 'should portray themselves as dutiful, modest, faithful servants of the cause'.<sup>32</sup> Asserting individual achievement was not compatible with the Communists' ideology of collective endeavour and in autobiographies the individual's identity was to be 'a continuation of the collective'.<sup>33</sup> This also meant that no importance should be given to one's private life.<sup>34</sup>

By the 1930s, a loyal Bolshevik also had to uphold the increasingly dominant Lenin cult, as well as follow the regime's official history. Many events were completely taboo and others had to be interpreted according to the Party's line. Ideas about the ideal Soviet woman also shifted during these years, with more traditional expectations about a woman's role in the family becoming prominent alongside the promotion of women's full participation in the building of socialism. This affected how women were portrayed and how they represented themselves in memoirs and autobiographies. These various restraints had a clear impact on the sisters' writing, making it difficult for the historian to gain a detailed insight into Anna and Mariia's views on the course of the revolution and even into their own activities, before and after 1917. In addition, the sisters' memoirs rarely, if ever, shed light on their personal lives.

To interpret such documents, it is important to go beyond assessing the author's 'reliability, agenda and sense of purpose' and to view them as the site of a complex relationship between the author's need to comply with cultural expectations about appropriate behaviour in society, as a woman and as an author, and her need for self-representation.<sup>35</sup> 'Internal clues' must be identified, which indicate the author's sense of herself and which point to ways in which the author offers subtle resistance to the restraints on acceptable content.<sup>36</sup> Where Bolshevik women's writing is concerned it is necessary to look beyond

their 'modest tones' in order to fully appreciate their achievements.<sup>37</sup> In the sisters' case they fulfilled expectations about a woman's role in Soviet society and avoided mention of controversial aspects of RSDRP history by writing a great deal about how they helped Lenin during the underground movement. By writing about this role, however, the sisters could also portray themselves as devoted and hard-working Bolsheviks and imply that they themselves were competent revolutionaries, who were part of Lenin's inner circle. Unfortunately, historians who have not taken the complex nature of these sources into account have used the sisters' emphasis on their role as Lenin's helpers as evidence that they were passive, devoted satellites of their great brother.

Comparing the sisters' own modest autobiographies against other sources often highlights that Anna and Mariia's roles were greater than they suggest. Published collections of official, secret RSDRP correspondence contain many references to the sisters, as well as letters by Anna and Mariia, in which they are far more open about their activities and views. Soviet newspaper articles published before the development of the Lenin cult are also useful.

Memoirs by comrades and colleagues of the sisters are also valuable, though they require careful handling since very few escape the influence of the Lenin cult and the solar system myth, but also the formulaic way in which revolutionary figures were celebrated. Mini-personality cults developed around Anna and Mariia, as prominent members of the Party and relations of the great Lenin. Liljeström has identified certain qualities of the 'revolutionary hero' that are regularly stressed in Soviet testimonials.<sup>38</sup> The revolutionary is 'extremely hard working and does not necessarily need to eat', she 'does not care about [her] looks or dress', 'hardly sleeps' and is 'very brave'.<sup>39</sup> Testimonials about the sisters often adhere to this pattern.

Memoirs that are critical of Lenin and the sisters, for example, those by Valentinov and G.A. Solomon, are more credible in some respects, but they are also problematic at times. Valentinov and Solomon both had friendships with Lenin that ended in disagreement, yet while their criticisms of Lenin are based on his political views, they both lapse into judgements of the women around him based on gender. For example, Valentinov rarely refers to the sisters as being anything but blindly devoted to Lenin, while Solomon makes a point of noting that Anna was ugly.<sup>40</sup> The reactions of the two authors to Lenin's sisters highlight the negative or at least dismissive attitude towards women Bolsheviks which many male party members felt, despite the official party line in favour of emancipation.<sup>41</sup> This is often expressed, as Moira Donald has

pointed out, quantitatively and qualitatively, that is, both in the lack of references to women revolutionaries, even prominent ones, and in the use of negative, gendered language on the few occasions when they are described.<sup>42</sup>

There is a wealth of secondary material in Russian about the sisters and the Ul'ianov family. Texts published in the Khrushchev and Brezhnev period are useful for establishing the basic chronology of Anna, Mariia and Ol'ga's lives, as well as for identifying primary source material, however they are heavily influenced by the cult surrounding the Ul'ianov family members and tend to be Lenin-centric in approach. More recently, Russian historians have begun to research the sisters as independent women revolutionaries, and there is a new body of literature that recognises the sisters' contribution to the Soviet regime.<sup>43</sup>

This, however, is the first English-language study of Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia Ul'ianova. It is also a first contribution to an integrated history of the entire Ul'ianov family. Investigating the lives and work of the parents, Il'ia Nikolaevich and Mariia Aleksandrovna, and the brothers, Aleksandr and Dmitrii, was beyond the scope of this book. However, the focus on the sisters can be justified given the existence of the solar system myth, and the type of enhancement that will appear in this book, which puts the historical spotlight on the Ul'ianov sisters, is crucial, in that it enables Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia to emerge from behind the 'immense figure' of their brother Lenin.<sup>44</sup>

# 1

## Childhood and Education

Anna, the eldest Ul'ianov sibling, was born to Il'ia Nikolaevich Ul'ianov and Mariia Aleksandrovna Blank in August 1864. Il'ia and Mariia had married the year before and had established a household that displayed features of the traditional and the liberal-progressive. While Il'ia pursued a very successful career as a schools inspector, which often involved long absences from home, Mariia took on the management of the household. Their marriage seems to have been a love match and was certainly a companionate marriage.<sup>1</sup> This type of marriage had been promoted by Russian jurists and thinkers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and was described by one essayist as being based on 'true friendship, mutual respect, and loving Christian assistance of one member of this union for the other'.<sup>2</sup> It was argued that this type of relationship would ensure 'the prudent management of the home, and the good upbringing of the children'.<sup>3</sup>

Anna was the first child of eight (though two died at birth). Aleksandr followed in 1866, then Vladimir in 1870, Ol'ga a year later, then Dmitrii in 1874 and Mariia four years after that.<sup>4</sup> The Ul'ianovs were loving parents, and while Il'ia's patriarchal authority in the family was recognised, this being symbolised, for example, by the fact that to punish the children in Il'ia's absence, Mariia would send them to sit in their father's chair, both parents seem to have worked together in raising their children and had an equal share of influence over the type of upbringing they received.<sup>5</sup> Their youngest daughter, Mariia Il'inichna, remembered that the two never fought in front of the children and always presented a 'united front' to them.<sup>6</sup>

This description contrasts with Tumarkin's interpretation of the solar system myth. She argues that in the Ul'ianov family, the senior male received star status and that this status was transferred when that male

died. After Il'ia's death in 1886, it was passed on to Aleksandr, who had always been a favourite in the family, and from him, after his execution in 1887, it was transferred to Vladimir.<sup>7</sup> Each star received the love, care and devotion of the rest of the family and became the centre of attention.

Anna and Mariia's memoirs offer a more nuanced description of their relationships with male members of the family. Anna's relationship with her father was loving, but not without problems. She did not like her father's regular absences and she often argued with him over her schooling.<sup>8</sup> However, she remembered fondly spending time with him during the holidays and the help he gave her and her siblings with their studies.<sup>9</sup> In the first example of the Ul'ianovs protecting the memory of a loved one, Anna would not accept criticism of her father's parenting after his death. In 1894, Anna wrote to the *Simbirsk guberniia gazette* to refute an article that had argued that Il'ia 'did not know what the family was doing, nor what his children were working on'.<sup>10</sup>

Despite her love for her father, it is clear from Anna's memoirs that she was devoted above all to her brother Aleksandr. She felt a strong love for him and looked up to him as a model of maturity, thoughtfulness and confidence. However, beyond that, her memoirs have to be treated with caution, as it is apparent that the feelings Anna describes in them are complicated and intensified by her grief at his death (he was executed for plotting to assassinate the Tsar) and even guilt felt retrospectively about her own behaviour around him. For example, she expresses regret for once turning down her father's offer to take her and her brother to Moscow, since Aleksandr's life turned out to be 'so short and so lacking in joy!'.<sup>11</sup>

In general, her memoirs show an understandable tendency to portray Aleksandr in a very positive light, which is compounded by Anna's habit of comparing herself unfavourably to her brother. Anna confesses that when her parents employed a young and inexperienced tutor to teach her and her brother, 'capricious' as she was, she took advantage of this to misbehave.<sup>12</sup> When she noted that the tutor did not refer to this behaviour in his reminiscences, but only to the exceptional diligence of the children, Anna concluded that 'it is possible of course that he mainly had Sasha [Aleksandr] in mind, who from childhood was very conscientious and serious about his duties'.<sup>13</sup> Even when she describes disagreements between them, showing that she was not totally over-awed by Aleksandr in life, she tends to take the blame for them.<sup>14</sup>

In portraying Aleksandr as a model young man, Anna also points out that as a boy Vladimir adored his elder brother and 'usually did

everything “like Sasha” and goes on to assert that: ‘in our family we were all [...] under the utter exceptional influence of Sasha, although he himself showed the least attempt to influence others.’<sup>15</sup> This latter statement is problematic; as will be made clear below, Mariia, for example, did not feel the same influence of Aleksandr as Anna did.

Valentinov denigrates Anna’s love for Aleksandr as ‘hysterical’ and it is not difficult to see the inspiration for the solar system myth in Anna’s memoirs.<sup>16</sup> However, to understand why Anna wrote about her brother as she did, it is important to take into account the events surrounding Aleksandr’s death. The anguish Anna experienced while she and her brother were imprisoned was intense, especially because they were not allowed to see each other even after Aleksandr was sentenced to death. In one of her final letters to Aleksandr, Anna wrote: ‘There is no one better on earth or more kindly than you. It’s not just me who’ll say this, as a sister; everyone who knew you will say this, my beloved little sun!’<sup>17</sup> In this case, Anna’s situation was extreme, rather than the emotion she expressed. Naturally she wished to comfort Aleksandr and rally his spirits. Indeed she said herself that her letter was a ‘a cry of the soul’ that was meant both to help the writer and the receiver of the letter.<sup>18</sup> Aleksandr’s letter to Anna from the same period showed a similar awareness that these would be his last words to her. He wrote: ‘From all of my soul I wish you every happiness. Farewell, my dear, with lots of love.’<sup>19</sup>

Anna herself admitted that she did not ever fully recover from Aleksandr’s execution, writing: ‘My brother had such an exceptional place in my life that for many long years recording my reminiscences was too much like reopening old wounds and therefore impossible for me.’<sup>20</sup> Anna’s long-lasting grief was noted by others. One witness described Anna’s reaction when asked about Aleksandr in the 1920s, writing: ‘With strong emotion Anna began to talk about him. I understood that with my question about Aleksandr Il’ich I had unwittingly touched a deep mental wound and stirred up heavy memories.’<sup>21</sup> It is Anna’s pain that explains the tone and form of her memoirs about Aleksandr, rather than a propensity in the Ul’ianov women to give their male relatives special status. It is also clear that Anna did not transfer or lose any of her love for Aleksandr. If she had, her precocious younger brother Vladimir would probably not have received it. The two had a turbulent relationship throughout their lives, but in childhood, Anna disliked ‘his great tendency to mockery, his impertinence and his arrogance’.<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, Mariia suggested that she may have transferred her love, writing once:

It's possible that my affection for Vladimir Il'ich increased because I transferred to him my love for my father, who died when I was almost eight. Father really loved [...] to run and play with us, the children. He spent a lot of time with me, as the youngest. Vladimir had a similar attitude towards children as father did.<sup>23</sup>

However, Mariia admitted elsewhere: 'I experienced little of my father's influence, for he died when I was not yet eight years old. Nor could I relate fully consciously to the reasons for the death of my older brother.'<sup>24</sup> From this statement it would seem that Vladimir was the first male Ul'ianov with whom she had any kind of lasting close relationship. Mariia described it as follows:

I had a sort of absolutely special feeling towards Vladimir Il'ich: warm love together with a form of worship [...] He never showed any strictness to me, even the other way round, he spoiled me, as the youngest of the family.<sup>25</sup>

Mariia's feelings towards Vladimir were not caused by an automatic devotion to male members of the family. Instead, Mariia felt an entirely natural love for a kindly big brother who indulged and protected her as the littlest. When Mariia wrote that Vladimir 'had a very great influence over me throughout my life' it is not surprising given that the two siblings lived together for most of their adult life.<sup>26</sup> Like Anna's reminiscences of Aleksandr, Mariia's are affected by the fact that Vladimir had died when she wrote them (see Chapter 6).

Another problem with the solar system myth is that it does not take into account Mariia Aleksandrovna's authority within the family. Solomon, who was acquainted with the family in the 1890s through the revolutionary movement, stated that there was a 'cult of motherhood' in the Ul'ianov family.<sup>27</sup> This comment is supported by other contemporaries, who also put Mariia Aleksandrovna at the 'head of the family'.<sup>28</sup> Her centrality was due to her important role as the children's educator, but also because she spent far more time with her children than their father did. Il'ia's early death meant that Mariia Aleksandrovna became the sole parent (and only source of income<sup>29</sup>). Later she defended her children to the police authorities, accompanied them into exile and supported their revolutionary activities.

The matriarchal tendency in the Ul'ianov family continued after Mariia Aleksandrovna's death. As the eldest sibling, Anna was often



portrayed as the head of the family. Anna's biographer, E. Ia. Drabkina, wrote:

[Anna] lived the longest life of all her brothers and sisters [though Mariia and Dmitrii survived her] [...] Before her eyes they grew up, became teenagers, young people, mature revolutionary fighters. She saw how their characters and convictions formed.<sup>30</sup>

Even when her mother was alive, Anna took on a responsible role where her younger siblings were involved. Anna took an interest in deciding Vladimir's future, agreeing that he ought to go to university, and Solomon wrote that in Mariia Aleksandrovna's absence, Anna 'reigned' over the family.<sup>31</sup> Later, when Mariia Aleksandrovna was ill, Anna tended to take charge of her care.<sup>32</sup> By the 1920s, Anna was a grandmother in her own family, but also took a great interest in her brother Dmitrii's children and in her husband Mark Elizarov's great-niece, A.A. Pushkova.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of the strong matriarchal figures, the Ul'ianov family, like most families, had a fluid and dynamic structure, in which different relationships and tensions existed. In terms of relations between the siblings, the children divided naturally into boy-girl pairs, with a four-year gap between the first and second pair, and a three-year gap between the second and third pair.<sup>34</sup> The siblings of the closest age became playmates, Anna with Aleksandr, as discussed, and Ol'ga with Vladimir. As children, these two were inseparable and played boisterously together. Ol'ga, whom her father described as 'sanguine', was so energetic, she hated having to go to bed.<sup>35</sup> She was, however, dedicated to her studies and, according to Anna, it was Ol'ga's good example as a conscientious student that inspired Vladimir to work hard during his last years at school.<sup>36</sup> The four year age gap between Dmitrii and Mariia meant that while Mariia was very young, Dmitrii played with Ol'ga and Vladimir, though later they became closer.

There also existed a hierarchy within the family based on age, which conferred authority and privileges. In her reminiscences of Aleksandr, Anna notes that: 'The younger children were always under the influence of the eldest.'<sup>37</sup> It was, for example, the two eldest siblings who were in charge of the production of the family's newspaper, *Subbotnik*.<sup>38</sup> Their father would take the eldest out for drives along the Volga, but not the younger children, and Anna remembered 'joyous' evenings spent together by their parents and 'the four eldest [children]'.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps in response, the younger children would deliberately

exclude the elder children from their games, keeping their activities secret from them.<sup>40</sup> Often they could not but play alone, for as the elder children grew up, they left home to continue their education. Ol'ga's friend recalled that while she and Ol'ga played with Vladimir and Dmitrii: 'The eldest children, Aleksandr and Anna, had already finished secondary school and had then gone to Petrograd [*sic*] to continue studying. Of course, we, small fry, rarely saw them.'<sup>41</sup>

The importance of this age hierarchy or the awareness of it amongst the siblings is revealed in a small anecdote of Anna's. When she was at university she had to learn Latin, but found this difficult, so she turned for help to Vladimir, who had studied it at school. She wrote: 'I experienced, of course, feelings of awkwardness, that I didn't know how to overcome my problem independently, but had to run for help to my younger brother, who could do his own work by himself without problems.'<sup>42</sup> Solomon suggests that the age difference caused much greater difficulties between the siblings than others admit. He asserts that Anna always treated Mariia with 'affectionate contempt', and he claims that Vladimir once told him that Mariia and Dmitrii were both fools.<sup>43</sup> Few others would agree with this portrayal of the Ul'ianov family, but, as might be expected, there were disputes between siblings, often due to differences in temperament between them. For example, Aleksandr and Anna had similar characters; both were quiet, reserved and even 'melancholy'.<sup>44</sup> Neither particularly got on with the 'choleric' and mischievous Vladimir, though Aleksandr had a soft spot for Ol'ga.<sup>45</sup>

The sisters' relationships were affected by the age differences between them, which prevented them from being close confidantes in their early years. The age gap between the sisters is illustrated clearly in a letter from Mariia to Ol'ga, who was at university. There is little in common between Mariia's stories of school life and Ol'ga's adult experiences of university.<sup>46</sup> However, Ol'ga missed Mariia and Anna while she was away from home, admitting in a letter to her school friend, A.F. Shcherbo: 'I'm depressed [...] I'm not used to living without Mama and my sisters.'<sup>47</sup> Anna and Mariia's relationship suffered tensions after Aleksandr's execution. Though Anna helped Mariia with her schoolwork her grief and stress often erupted in 'outbursts that brought torment to both of [them]'.<sup>48</sup> Nonetheless, the sisters always corresponded affectionately with each other and grew closer as they became adults.

Thus, far from revolving around Vladimir, or indeed any family member, the Ul'ianov family was a closely-knit unit, in which various relationships flourished. Similarly, Vladimir was not the only one to be given 'warmly expectant encouragement'.<sup>49</sup> All the Ul'ianov siblings

were encouraged and supported by their parents and by each other, particularly when it came to school work and study.

## The learning curve

One of the key issues on which Il'ia and Mariia Aleksandrovna agreed was that of their children's education. Unusually for the time, they believe that Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia should receive exactly the same educational opportunities as their brothers. All three received a secondary education and excelled. Anna finished school a year and a half early and graduated with a gold medal. Ol'ga was also a first class, gold medal pupil, and passed her school exams despite the fact that Aleksandr had only recently been executed. Mariia was successful enough to secure a place at university.

The reaction of those around the Ul'ianov daughters to their dedication to education and impressive academic record is revealing of societal views of women's education at the time. Education for girls was not common in those days: Drabkina highlights this by pointing out how unusual it is that in a photograph of Anna and Aleksandr taken in the 1870s, Anna is holding an open book.<sup>50</sup> Friends of the family were surprised to note that Anna's enthusiasm for learning matched Aleksandr's and were later 'amazed' by Ol'ga's 'serious and extremely productive reading'.<sup>51</sup>

Of course, the education system itself had an inbuilt gender bias at this time. Girls were not taught logic or the ancient languages (hence Anna's need to turn to Vladimir for help with Latin) and instead received pedagogy and didactics lessons. These two classes meant that on graduating from secondary school girls were qualified to home tutor pupils and to teach in state schools. The marking system was also different for girls: boys were marked out of five, girls out of twelve.<sup>52</sup>

Although Il'ia and Mariia Aleksandrovna were happy to send their girls to university, the system itself meant that the opportunities open to Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia were limited. They could only attend Higher Women's Courses at separate institutions to the main universities and only certain subjects were taught. Nonetheless, all three girls enrolled on the Higher Courses and although none completed their studies, this was not due to parental pressure or academic failure. Anna was expelled after her brother's attempt to assassinate the Tsar, Ol'ga died at the end of her first year and Mariia's study was disrupted by the revolutionary activities of her elder siblings and then by her own involvement in the movement. She was refused entry to the St Petersburg Higher Women's or Bestuzhev Courses, probably on political grounds,

and had to enrol on the Higher Women's Courses in Moscow instead.<sup>53</sup> Mariia continued to study sporadically for many years, enrolling at Brussels University and at the Sorbonne in Paris.

The girls' attitude to education provides an insight into their characters. Anna found secondary education very stressful and wanted to learn at home.<sup>54</sup> However, she felt that she could not turn to her father on this matter, for he would interpret her request as a sign of 'laziness'.<sup>55</sup> Anna also asserted that her father's approach to education, which entailed giving minimal praise for academic achievement, was not appropriate for all the children of the family, particularly the girls. She wrote:

Now, when I look back at our childhood, I think it would have been better if [father's] generally correct pedagogical approach had not been followed so undeviatingly. It was only fully suitable for my brother Vladimir, for it represented a useful corrective to his great self-confidence and his brilliance at school [...] For all of us – especially for the girls, who suffered from a certain lack of belief in our strengths – a little dose of praise would have been useful.<sup>56</sup>

This lack of confidence is apparent in Anna and Mariia's experience of higher education. Anna waited for one and a half years after finishing school before she enrolled at university so that she could go to St Petersburg with Aleksandr. She also described how unsure she felt when she first arrived at the Higher Women's Courses. While Aleksandr seemed to establish a study routine very quickly and appeared to know what books to read, and where to find them, Anna struggled to adapt to the new university life. She felt that she 'rushed about and searched [for things]' and 'wasted time in vain'.<sup>57</sup> Also Anna held only vague ambitions about her future career, dreaming of perhaps becoming a writer.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, when Mariia considered going abroad to continue her studies, her confidence seems to have wavered. Vladimir wrote to his mother: 'Maniasha, I think, is wrong to hesitate. It would be useful for her to live and study abroad in one of the capitals, and studying in Belgium is especially convenient.'<sup>59</sup>

However, the lack of confidence felt by Anna and Mariia cannot be blamed entirely on their upbringing because Ol'ga, in contrast, was far more confident in her attitude towards education, especially at university level. She saw education as a means of fulfilling her deep desire to do socially useful work and her tenacity in pursuing her dream shows perhaps how similar her character was to Vladimir's. What is interesting is that in her case the only barriers to achieving her aims appear to

have been related to politics and practicalities, not to societal obstacles relating to her sex. Ol'ga was thwarted in her aim to become a teacher, one of the few professions open to women and in her view 'one of the most useful and highest occupations', because of her family's reputation of being politically unreliable.<sup>60</sup> For a time she pursued her education at music school, mainly to please her mother, but an injury to her hand meant that Ol'ga could never become a professional piano player and had to leave the school.<sup>61</sup> However, Ol'ga wrote to Shcherbo: 'I am absolutely not as grieved by the fact that it is impossible for me to play as everyone thinks; now my head is full of dreams about going to Helsinki [to study medicine].'<sup>62</sup> This for Ol'ga was the next great, socially useful profession after teaching. Here it appears that Ol'ga was deeply impressed by the role model of her aunt Anna Ivanovna Veretennikova who was herself a doctor and with whom Ol'ga stayed in 1887–1888 while attending music school.<sup>63</sup>

Ol'ga was prevented from embarking on this because in addition to knowing English and Swedish which she had taught herself, she would also have to learn Finnish. Loath to waste another year, she enrolled at the Women's Courses in St Petersburg instead.<sup>64</sup> Vladimir had been refused entry in St Petersburg because he was seen as politically unreliable, but Ol'ga was granted permission to attend for the police could find no evidence that she shared her brother's tendency.<sup>65</sup> Even in the short time Ol'ga attended university, she proved herself to be a brilliant scholar.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the sisters' emancipated upbringing, there are very few references to them engaging in the debates of the time about the woman question. However, comments by both Anna and Ol'ga do reveal to some extent their attitude towards women's emancipation. Near the start of their university career in St Petersburg, Anna and Aleksandr observed groups of female nihilist students, dressed in red, with short hair. Discussing the matter later, Anna felt their behaviour was aggressive and rude, while Aleksandr disapproved of their appearance.<sup>67</sup> When asked how women should dress, Aleksandr replied 'like mother!' which was, as Anna went on to explain, 'neatly, and above all modestly'.<sup>68</sup> Ever loyal in her reminiscences, Anna defended Aleksandr's words by arguing that her brother was in favour of women's emancipation and adds that his comments only point to his respect for his mother, and the influence she had in the family.<sup>69</sup> It is not clear what Anna's view of the nihilists' appearance was, but it seems that she did not believe that clothes should occupy the mind of an intelligent woman. For example, Anna wrote approvingly of her mother:

As she took no interest in clothes, gossip or scandal which at that time were the only topics of discussion in female society, Mariia Aleksandrovna confined herself to the family circle, devoting all her sensitivity and earnestness to the education of her children.<sup>70</sup>

Ol'ga expressed a similar attitude towards clothes, writing in one letter to Shcherbo the following about her friend Shtral':

Even if we assume she is stupid – [the cause of it is] difficult to determine: is she stupid because her head is so full of ideas about her beauty that there is no room for serious ideas, or, the other way round, as a result of her stupidity she is absorbed with ideas about her allegedly unequalled beauty [...] Yet all the same she really isn't an idiot.<sup>71</sup>

On a practical level, Anna wrote one short story on the issue, entitled *From a Girl's Life*, which will be discussed in Chapter 3 and Ol'ga participated in what she described as 'lively' debates on the 'women's question' with her fellow students at their formal discussion circle, though unfortunately, her letters give no further details.<sup>72</sup>

The Ul'ianov sisters may not have fully engaged with the women question as students, but they all gained an understanding and experience of the revolutionary movement while at university. Each sister followed her own path into the revolution, though the exchange of literature and ideas between the Ul'ianov siblings played a key role in the formation of their political outlook. Vladimir was an important figure in this process, but not necessarily the dominant one, and certainly not the only influence with which the Ul'ianov women came into contact.

## The eldest

In the autumn of 1883, Anna and Aleksandr embarked on their university education. While Aleksandr enrolled at the University of St Petersburg to study natural sciences, Anna joined the Bestuzhev Courses, reading history and philosophy. Like many undergraduates in Russia at this time, both very quickly came into contact with radical students and revolutionary ideas.

Amongst students at this time there was no unifying plan or leadership guiding political action.<sup>73</sup> However, there did exist a network of *zemliachestva*,<sup>74</sup> groups of people from the same region or town who

banded together while living or working away from home to provide support and friendship to each other.<sup>75</sup> Often *zemliachestva*, particularly those with student memberships, became discussion groups and forums for revolutionary ideas and as a result they were banned. Nonetheless, students still found ways of gathering in these groups, often using the guise of an engagement party or a family evening.<sup>76</sup> From these were formed small study groups, which debated various current questions and read texts on history and political economy.<sup>77</sup>

Anna and Aleksandr were drawn into such activities when they were invited to join their *zemliachestvo* by their old friend from home Ivan Nikolaevich Chebotarev.<sup>78</sup> The two soon became friends with Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, a fellow student from a Samaran peasant family, and Anna and Mark often posed as fiancés when attending the 'family gatherings' which were arranged as a cover for student discussion meetings. Anna participated fully in these meetings.<sup>79</sup>

Revolutionary thought was in flux at this point, with debates being conducted over the economic conditions necessary for revolution to occur and the best tactics to use to foster revolution. Revolutionaries were divided over whether or not Russia must become fully capitalist in order to progress to socialism, with many arguing that the peasant commune could form the basis of a new socialist society. Similarly, while some viewed terrorism as a legitimate element of the campaign to bring about revolution, others were moving towards a new approach in which workers were to be introduced to political propaganda in small study groups.<sup>80</sup> The same debates were discussed in the study group founded by V.V. Bartenev, which Aleksandr and Chebotarev joined. Aleksandr came to believe that the road to socialism was through the development of capitalism, not through the peasant commune, but, unbeknownst to Anna, he also accepted that the use of terrorism in the revolutionary campaign was justified.<sup>81</sup>

In her autobiography, Anna did not acknowledge her time at university as one where she developed her revolutionary views or even participated in revolutionary activities. Just as Anna despaired at her attempts to study, she also felt that she 'did not succeed' in deciding on her own 'political position'.<sup>82</sup> This comment is typical of her self-deprecating autobiographical style, yet there were also incidents which discouraged Anna from involving herself in radical circles. Once, when Anna asked Aleksandr what her greatest flaw was he replied immediately that it was her lack of social convictions. Indeed, this was one of the reasons Aleksandr deliberately shielded Anna from his more risky activities.<sup>83</sup>

On another occasion, at a study group meeting, Anna presented her research into the issue of the economic situation of the peasantry and other members of the circle criticised her for not having carried out sufficient reading in order to contribute to the debate.<sup>84</sup> Anna remembered later: 'I despairingly defended myself saying that though I had made extracts from all the assigned texts I was not guilty if there were no references to the question in them.'<sup>85</sup> Aleksandr supported Anna, but only towards the end of the argument. After that, though she was 'captivated' by what she heard about the economics circle that her brother and his friends all discussed avidly, she decided not to attend.<sup>86</sup> She felt she had not read enough about political economy, to go to 'such an intellectual circle'.<sup>87</sup>

Despite these negative experiences and the fact that Anna felt that she did not find her political voice, Anna did become involved in student radicalism during her university years. Alongside Aleksandr, Anna attended lectures by V.I. Semevskii, a historian of the Russian peasantry, whose course was withdrawn from the university curriculum in 1884 as part of the Minister of Public Education's reactionary measures.<sup>88</sup> Although Semevskii was banned from speaking at the university, he continued to give very popular lectures at his flat, to which Anna and Aleksandr often went. Once Aleksandr missed a lecture and Semevskii allowed Anna to take some illegal literature to him. Because Aleksandr lived close to Semevskii's flat, she carried the pamphlets in her arms. When she arrived at the flat, he was horrified (and a little amused) that she so openly and brazenly brought illegal literature to him. Anna's retort was that his flat was so nearby no one would have had a chance to read the titles of what she was carrying.<sup>89</sup>

Anna first read Marx when Aleksandr turned to her for help translating an article by Marx about religion. Anna jokes in her reminiscences that though she enthusiastically corrected the text, she herself was not familiar with Marx at that time.<sup>90</sup> In fact almost no study groups at this time tackled Marx because it was so difficult, but individuals like Aleksandr did.<sup>91</sup> Aleksandr read *Capital* in the summer of 1886.<sup>92</sup> And although Anna did not attend Aleksandr's economics study group, she heard all about it from her brother, and her friends Mark and Chebotarev.<sup>93</sup>

Anna also involved herself in student activities independently of Aleksandr. She participated in a history group, presenting a paper at it and also wrote short stories and poetry about societal and revolutionary themes.<sup>94</sup> In one poem Anna likened the growing revolutionary mood of the people to a storm on the Vol'ga.<sup>95</sup>



When Aleksandr and his friend Orlovskii suggested organising a student deputation to the writer M.E. Saltykov-Shchedrin, a satirical journalist and social commentator, whose journal *Otechestvennie zapiski* (*Fatherland Notes*) had been shut down, Anna took it upon herself to write an address to Shchedrin from her class at the Bestuzhev Courses.<sup>96</sup> It was presented to him at a student meeting at his flat, which Aleksandr did not attend. The following day N.V. Stasova, one of the course leaders and a prominent campaigner for the extension of women's education, privately passed on a message from Shchedrin that of all the letters he had received, Anna's had given him the most pleasure.<sup>97</sup> Aleksandr was surprised to learn from Anna that she had written the address.<sup>98</sup>

On 17 November 1886 Anna participated in her first political demonstration. It was a march in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the death of N.A. Dobroliubov, a writer and literary critic of democratic and revolutionary outlook.<sup>99</sup> Anna remembered walking with Aleksandr throughout the demonstration, which meant that when he urged the demonstration to go right up to the mounted police posted at the Neva, she was beside him.<sup>100</sup> Despite the fact that many of the demonstrators were arrested, Anna recalled the 'happy, celebratory and brotherly' mood amongst those who congregated at Aleksandr's flat afterwards.<sup>101</sup> The Ul'ianovs' friend, Mark, who had graduated that year, captured the feeling when he exclaimed: 'We have such a united soul, gentlemen!'<sup>102</sup>

Anna believed that the demonstration and its clash with the police was one of the factors which led Aleksandr to turn to terrorist activities.<sup>103</sup> Around this time, a plot to assassinate the Tsar had been devised by a group which, though it had no link with the organisation, called itself The Terrorist Fraction of the People's Will (the group which had assassinated Aleksandr II). Some of its members, for example M.I. Brusnev, were revolutionaries who ran workers' propaganda circles; others were radical students. It was through the *zemliachestva* network that Aleksandr became acquainted with some of the latter group.<sup>104</sup> When one of the conspirators left The Terrorist Fraction, Aleksandr was invited to join the plot.<sup>105</sup>

Anna was unaware that Aleksandr had joined this group, but she did become more involved in the activities of Aleksandr's economics study group. Anna helped in the distribution of a leaflet about the demonstration, agreeing to post the letters. Although she was warned not to put bundles of the envelopes into individual post-boxes as this would arouse suspicion, Anna was so exhausted on the day that she posted them all into one!<sup>106</sup>

Anna also began fund-raising for the Red Cross, which provided support to political prisoners and exiles. However, she was warned off this activity by N.K. Vinberg, the father of one of her class-mates. As Anna found out later, Vinberg had had links with revolutionaries during the period just after Aleksandr II's assassination and had experienced the state's repressive measures which followed.<sup>107</sup> In February 1887, when Anna showed him a Red Cross leaflet and asked for a donation, he warned her never to use the leaflet when asking people for money, for it would only lead to her 'downfall'.<sup>108</sup> Although Anna did not destroy the leaflet as Vinberg advised, she stopped approaching people with it.

Anna was also to learn the hard way the importance of the meticulous protection of revolutionary information when it was sent in the post. Aleksandr used Anna's 'clean' address to receive a telegram from one of his co-conspirators. On the night of 1 March, the police moved against the would-be assassins. Anna was arrested at Aleksandr's flat, where she was looking for her brother, and when his flat was searched, the telegram was found.<sup>109</sup> This was enough to ensure her imprisonment and exile for five years under police surveillance.<sup>110</sup> Initially she was to be sent to Siberia, but Mariia Aleksandrovna and M.L. Peskovskii, the husband of one of her cousins, who lived in St Petersburg, intervened on Anna's behalf and she was allowed to serve her exile at the family's estate, Kokushkino.<sup>111</sup> Although Mariia Aleksandrovna also pleaded with the authorities on her son's behalf after he was found guilty at his trial, Aleksandr's sentence was not reduced and he was executed on 8 May 1887.

## **The next generation**

The shock of Aleksandr's arrest and execution was very great for the whole Ul'ianov family and brought to an end the happy and carefree childhood of the other siblings. Former friends shunned the family members, Mariia Aleksandrovna almost lost her pension and the family had to move to Kazan.<sup>112</sup> Ol'ga was affected deeply by Aleksandr's execution, writing to her friend Shcherbo:

And happiness? Where is it? Where are happy people? No, I absolutely do not believe in happiness, but believe only that it is possible to forget about unhappiness, one's own and others' (and that only partly), by fulfilling one's duty.<sup>113</sup>

Above all though, the greatest consequence of Aleksandr's execution was that it spurred the younger siblings, Vladimir and Ol'ga, into revolutionary activities. Anna wrote: 'The arrest and execution of their brother strongly revolutionised them both. This was especially noticeable in Ol'ga – she was more effusive.'<sup>114</sup> Indeed, on hearing the news of her brother's execution, Ol'ga, it is said, vowed through her tears that she would kill the Tsar herself.<sup>115</sup>

It was first more important for the Ul'ianov siblings to understand why and how Aleksandr had become involved in a terrorist plot against the Tsar. Anna did not know anything about the conspiracy, but she could shed some light on the ideas with which she and Aleksandr had come into contact and the types of activities they had been involved in together. She also still had links with her brother's friends. Ol'ga would visit some in St Petersburg when she attended university, but others, like Chebotarev (who soon renounced revolutionary activities) and Mark, came to see Anna and could offer some insight into Aleksandr's activities, his views and his trial.<sup>116</sup> Mariia Aleksandrovna had visited Aleksandr in prison and had attended his trial, so was able to tell her children much about her eldest son's last days.<sup>117</sup>

Anna could share her experiences of conspiratorial techniques and offer advice to Vladimir, who was exiled to Kokushkino for participating in a student demonstration at Kazan University in December 1887. When Anna found him writing a letter to a friend at another university, in which he openly discussed the student unrest at Kazan, she was quick to point out that he was endangering his friend by sending him such a politically sensitive letter. Although it was often difficult to change Vladimir's mind, in this case he took Anna's advice and destroyed the letter.<sup>118</sup> Now that Anna and Vladimir were both in exile, coping with police surveillance was a daily task, to which the Ul'ianov siblings quickly became accustomed.<sup>119</sup>

The time at Kokushkino was an important formative period for Anna and Vladimir, during which they worked together, studying economics and political ideas. In later years, Anna portrayed her relationship to Vladimir as that of pupil of a revolutionary teacher and gave very few details about her own research, writing, for example: 'I read a lot, chatted with V.I. and took shape as a Marxist'.<sup>120</sup> However, it is also possible to detect information in her reminiscences that shows that the two studied together, reading books that they had borrowed from Kazan library.<sup>121</sup>

Vladimir returned to Kazan and the other Ul'ianovs in the autumn of 1888; Anna stayed with the family briefly over the winter, due to illness.<sup>122</sup>

By this time, Vladimir was reading Volume One of Marx's *Capital* and had made contact with a local circle of revolutionaries. Anna was unable to attend the group because she was still under police surveillance. However, she and Vladimir had 'long walks and conversations' about the meetings during which her brother told her 'about essays which were read at his group' and described 'several meetings with great gusto'.<sup>123</sup>

Mark, who had found work in Samara, was a regular visitor to Kokushkino during this period. He helped arrange the purchase of a small farm in Alakaevka, near Samara, for the family, and once the Ul'ianovs had moved to it, in the early summer of 1889, he and Anna were wed.<sup>124</sup> Mark's nephew later described the marriage as 'a natural event for both sides', but others have been more negative about the match.<sup>125</sup> Solomon remembers Vladimir dismissing Mark as an 'old duffer' whom Anna should never have married and both were disgusted that Mark was apparently 'under the thumb'.<sup>126</sup> Certainly Anna seems to have despaired at Mark's lack of social graces. His peasant family background made him less genteel than the Ul'ianovs and Anna was not afraid to tell him so. For his part, Mark would complain if Anna spoke in French with others in his presence, for he did not know that or any other foreign language. However, the two corresponded affectionately when apart, exchanging 'countless' letters and postcards, and Mark's *joie de vivre*, sense of humour and his even-temper delighted everyone.<sup>127</sup>

The police, who had Mark under surveillance at this time, also noted the marriage and their reports show that they expected Mariia Aleksandrovna and the other children to be influenced by 'the evil influence [...] of their extremely harmful relation – Mark Timofeevich (now Anna's husband)' as well as by Anna and Vladimir.<sup>128</sup> However, when Ol'ga applied to enrol at university, P. Durnii of the Samara police department admitted: '[regarding Ol'ga] nothing reprehensible or politically unreliable has been noted, even though she lives with her sister Anna Elizarova [...] and her brother Vladimir Ul'ianov, who [are both] under police surveillance'.<sup>129</sup> It is important to note that the police looked for dangerous influences equally in brother and sister.

Biographers of Ol'ga, like the police of the time, overlook her revolutionary inclinations. Many stress, like Anna, that had Ol'ga not died so tragically when she was twenty it is 'doubtless that [she] would have been an ardent revolutionary'.<sup>130</sup> Yet, Ol'ga was familiar with revolutionary ideas and knew various underground activists even before she enrolled at university.

Initially, Ol'ga did not live with Anna and Vladimir in Kokushkino, because she was attending music school in Kazan and living with her aunt. Besides being a doctor, Anna Ivanovna also ran a boarding house for students and Ol'ga was often witness to the discussions between the students on current political and scientific topics. Her aunt was also sympathetic to student radicalism of the time and wrote poems about current issues.<sup>131</sup>

It was from her aunt's house that Ol'ga wrote to Shcherbo about the demonstrations at Kazan university, in which Vladimir participated.<sup>132</sup> She highlighted society's compassion for the students and described how they had donated money, fur coats and scarves for those arrested and sent into exile in Siberia.<sup>133</sup> In her next letter though, she wrote that she 'was trying not to be too open' about the student unrest, revealing that already she was aware of the need for caution when writing about politically sensitive issues in correspondence.<sup>134</sup>

In March 1889, Ol'ga left the music school and began to prepare at home for enrolling at university, moving with the family to Samara. She wrote optimistically to Shcherbo:

The aspiration towards truth and to the ideal is in people's souls [...] One must always believe in people, in the possibility of something better on earth, despite personal disappointment [...] If one doesn't believe in people, doesn't love them, then what is one living for?<sup>135</sup>

During that summer, Ol'ga and Vladimir spent much of their time reading together. Although Kovnator insists that it was due to Vladimir's influence that Ol'ga read Guizot's *A History of France* and Buckle's *A History of Civilisation in England*, long before she had left Kazan, Ol'ga had written to Shcherbo that she no longer wanted to read novels, but rather 'serious books'.<sup>136</sup> Together, Ol'ga and Vladimir read Marx's *The Poverty of Philosophy*.<sup>137</sup> Ol'ga was also acquainted with Vladimir's circle of friends, including Anna Abramovna Katsnel'son, a dentist whose flat was used by revolutionaries for meetings.<sup>138</sup>

Ol'ga enrolled to read physics, chemistry and maths on the Bestuzhev Courses in St Petersburg in the autumn of 1890. Her efforts to study revolutionary thought increased. Examination of Ol'ga and Vladimir's letters in 1890–1891 reveals that they were reading everything that Aleksandr had and tracing his ideological development. The two read, amongst others, S.M. Solov'ev's *History of Russia*, and *David Ricardo and Karl Marx* by the economist N.I. Sieber.<sup>139</sup> Many of these books would appear in Lenin's *The Development of Capitalism in*

Russia.<sup>140</sup> Ol'ga was familiar with Engels' *The Situation of the Working Class in England*, as well as with Semevskii's *The Peasant Question in Russia in the Eighteenth and first half of the Nineteenth Centuries*.<sup>141</sup> Ol'ga also tackled Marx's *Capital*.<sup>142</sup>

The exchange of letters between the Ul'ianov siblings shows that they continued to discuss their ideas whenever possible. Ol'ga often asked Anna if she had 'read anything interesting'.<sup>143</sup> To Vladimir, Ol'ga wrote: 'It would be interesting to talk about every "question", but somehow it doesn't come across well in a letter. I will try again another time, but then, by the end of April maybe you'll be here.'<sup>144</sup>

Ol'ga also made efforts to make contact with Aleksandr's old acquaintances. Her mother unwittingly encouraged Ol'ga in this enterprise by asking her to track down any photographs she could of Aleksandr.<sup>145</sup> It seems to have been an easy task to find Aleksandr's (and Anna's) friends, for in one letter to her mother, Ol'ga wrote: 'I have made friends with many people, though I have had hardly been going anywhere'.<sup>146</sup> For example, she became acquainted with V.I. Semevskii, the banned lecturer, and V.V. Bartenev, whom Aleksandr had met at the economics study circle.<sup>147</sup>

Ol'ga consistently shunned women on her course who did not read and engage with the radical ideas of the time. She wrote to Anna that her cousin was a 'very sweet girl, but terribly naïve and utterly unsophisticated', adding 'she studies drawing here and says that there is such a lot to do, there is no time to read'.<sup>148</sup> Ol'ga did not like visiting Anna's old friends the Vinbergs because their conversation was 'sluggish and not always interesting'.<sup>149</sup> She much preferred O.K. Grigorevaia's company, of whom she wrote: 'she is a good person, who has read a lot and thought a lot, so it is interesting to talk with her. We read journals or articles together.'<sup>150</sup> Later, between 1905 and 1907, Grigorevaia would allow Bolsheviks to meet in her flat.<sup>151</sup>

Ol'ga also met A.A. Iakubova and Z.P. Nevzorova, who remembered Ol'ga as 'a most outstanding girl', the 'centre of their course'.<sup>152</sup> These two young women, the latter of whom would marry G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, were members of a Social-Democratic group led by Brusnev, one of Aleksandr's co-conspirators.<sup>153</sup> Iakubova and Nevzorova worked on Sunday evenings as teachers, ostensibly offering literacy and numeracy classes to workers, but also introducing them to the fundamentals of revolutionary Social-Democratic thought.<sup>154</sup>

Ol'ga did not join this group, but instead regularly met with other like-minded friends at a discussion group.<sup>155</sup> With the support of the St Petersburg town дума, Ol'ga and her friends held an evening in aid

of needy students and established a reading room.<sup>156</sup> On one occasion the group read about modern French youth in the periodical *Russkaia mysl'* (*Russian Thought*) and there was such a long and heated discussion afterwards that the meeting lasted far longer than usual.<sup>157</sup> It was here that Ol'ga discussed the woman question.<sup>158</sup>

Just as Anna and fellow students had sent an address to Shchedrin, Ol'ga joined her contemporaries in sending a greeting to the writer and literary critic N.V. Shelgunov, whose works included essays on Engels' ideas and the development of capitalism in Russia and who had twice been imprisoned in the Peter and Paul Fortress in St Petersburg for his views. Krupskaja's name also appears on the greeting. She too was a member of the Brusnev group, but she was as yet unknown to the Ul'ianov family.<sup>159</sup>

Ol'ga's university and revolutionary career was cut short prematurely when she died of typhoid fever on 8 May 1891. A letter published in *Pravda* in 1977, which was written by one of Ol'ga's classmates, Vera Emel'ianova, to her brother just after Ol'ga's death, reveals what an outstanding character she was:

O, Arsenii, if only you knew what sort of person Ul'ianova was. How much hope was placed in her! It is safe to say, that in Ul'ianova Russia has lost an honest, tireless activist [...] She was a person of brilliant mind, intellectual maturity, education, talent [...] She read the best works on political economy and sociology.<sup>160</sup>

Emel'ianova had known Ol'ga for only a year.<sup>161</sup> This letter is a good example of the way in which the dead were commemorated in Russia at this time. Calling Ol'ga's death a national loss was a means by which the writer could express her grief, rather than (necessarily) a statement of fact. That there was no political reason for Ol'ga's friend to write her letter to Arsenii highlights the Russian cultural tradition of speaking well of, if not glorifying, the dead.<sup>162</sup>

Ol'ga's revolutionary contacts were not lost. When Vladimir moved to St Petersburg in 1893, he began to follow up both Ol'ga's acquaintances and Aleksandr's, and it was through these people that he joined the underground movement in the capital. For example, Vladimir visited S.F. Ol'denburg, a lecturer at St Petersburg University, who had been member of a student circle with Aleksandr and had known Ol'ga.<sup>163</sup> Vladimir also joined the *stariki* (elders) group, which had formed out of the remainder of the Brusnev group after his arrest, and whose members still included Nevzorova and Iakubova, whom Ol'ga

had known.<sup>164</sup> Thus, Ol'ga played a key role in ensuring that the Ul'ianovs' connections with the revolutionary community in St Petersburg were maintained. Her early death was yet another terrible blow to the Ul'ianov family.

### The last recruit

Mariia's political consciousness was not awakened when Aleksandr was executed. Unlike her elder siblings, Mariia felt detached from his death and did not fully understand the reasons for it, being only nine years old. She was deeply aware, however, of the consequences of his death on the 'mood of the family' and that many of the Ul'ianovs' old friends now shunned them.<sup>165</sup> Aleksandr's execution also had an impact on Mariia's home life, because when Anna first went to Kokushkino to begin her exile, Mariia was sent there to keep her company until the rest of the family joined them in the spring. In Kokushkino, as Mariia put it: 'It befell me, for the first time, to come into contact with the police in the form of the district police officer, who had been assigned to follow my sister [...who...] was under surveillance. With this aim he often "visited" us.'<sup>166</sup>

From the early 1890s, Mariia (and Dmitrii) began to observe Anna, Mark and Vladimir's activities more closely. Now living in Samara and under less pressure from the police, the elder Ul'ianovs were able to hold study sessions and discussion groups with local revolutionaries in their house. Amongst the visitors to the Ul'ianov house, Mariia remembered A.P. Skliarenko, M.P. Golubeva, M.I. Lebedeva and A.I. Eramasov, all of whom would be Bolshevik sympathisers.<sup>167</sup> At these meetings, the belief that the peasant commune would form the basis for socialism in Russia, now stigmatised as narodism, as well as the proponents of the view were criticised. Eramasov wrote the following about his first visit to the Ul'ianovs:

I remember, we came round in the evening [...] just in time for tea. The whole family was already gathered at the table. I was introduced to Mariia Aleksandrovna, Anna Il'inichna, Mariia Il'inichna and Vladimir Il'ich.... The conversation turned to the usual themes of that time: narodism, the destiny of capitalism [...] After tea we moved to Vladimir Il'ich's room, where we continued the conversation [...] Mark Timofeevich shared his [...] observations of peasant life in Samara guberniia. I remember that Anna Il'inichna also took part in the conversation.<sup>168</sup>



Mariia's own description of her revolutionary training reveals Vladimir's role, but also the importance of Anna's contacts. She wrote:

Vladimir Il'ich spent a great deal of time with me as the youngest of the family, later he worked with me, gave me instructions about what to read, chatted with me on various themes. Apart from him, our new acquaintances also had a great influence on me. After leaving Simbirsk these were mainly the friends of my older brother and sister, and also of M.T. Elizarov – Anna Il'inichna's husband; they represented the vanguard of the revolutionary intelligentsia of that time.<sup>169</sup>

Mariia's revolutionary training continued once Vladimir had moved to St Petersburg and the rest of the family to Moscow. Vladimir often asked in letters what Mariia was reading and suggested books to her.<sup>170</sup> Mariia kept in touch with some of the participants of her siblings' Samara circle. For example, Vladimir wrote to Mariia in 1894: 'What are you reading. Have you seen M.I. Lebedeva? Did she receive my letter?'<sup>171</sup> In this letter too we see the emergence of the Ul'ianov communication network, which would function to keep Vladimir and the other Ul'ianov siblings informed of underground activities and which would enable them to give each other instructions about revolutionary work.

It is difficult to ascertain precisely what the sisters' political views were at this point. However, one incident sheds some light on their attitudes. In 1892 the Samara region experienced a famine and a cholera outbreak, and though Anna went out to help the people 'with medicine and instructions', Vladimir would not participate.<sup>172</sup> He argued that the famine was a product of the old regime and should be allowed to continue, for this would weaken the state.<sup>173</sup> Anna was shocked by this, and Mariia also seems to have disagreed with Vladimir's 'cold detachment' in this situation, noting later:

'It seems to me that [Vladimir Il'ich] had a different nature from Aleksandr Il'ich [...] Vladimir Il'ich did not have the quality of self-sacrifice even though he devoted his whole life entirely to the cause of the working class.'<sup>174</sup>

The years 1883 to 1893 were a crucial formative period for Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia, during which they embarked on their university education and first came into contact with the ideas and tactics of

revolutionaries. The three also experienced first hand the painful consequences of underground activities if one was caught by the regime, yet this did not deter them from involving themselves more deeply in the revolutionary movement in the years to come. Had Ol'ga lived, she would no doubt have joined Anna and Mariia as they embarked on revolutionary careers that would span the next four decades.

# 2

## The Underground

The Ul'ianovs' revolutionary activities began in earnest in 1893 when Anna's period of exile ended and the family were able to leave Kazan. Anna was banned for a further year from entering St Petersburg, Nizhnii Novgorod and Tver, but she was allowed to live in Moscow.<sup>1</sup> There were opportunities for the whole Ul'ianov family in Russia's second city. Dmitrii began his studies in medicine, Mark found a job at the management of the Moscow-Kursk railway, and Mariia completed her secondary education. Anna was able to meet other revolutionaries and join in their work, while earning some money doing translations. Mariia Aleksandrovna accompanied the family to Moscow, but Vladimir did not, and went instead to Nizhnii Novgorod, then St Petersburg.

While working in Nizhnii Novgorod, Vladimir met a Social-Democrat called S. Mitskevich who was making his way to Moscow. In what was one of the first instances of Vladimir using the Ul'ianov family network to maintain contact with allies, Vladimir recommended that Mitskevich contacted Anna once he had reached Moscow because she was well connected to the revolutionary movement in the city. This he did and established a long friendship with the family. Anna gave Mitskevich 'a great deal of material assistance and passed on [...] a number of contacts'.<sup>2</sup> She also joined the workers' circle that he established, which devoted its time to studying works by Marx and by others, including K. Kautsky and N.E. Fedoseev, a Kazan-based Marxist with whom Vladimir had corresponded.<sup>3</sup> For the group, Anna translated *Die Weber (The Weavers)*, a play by G. Hauptmann which gave a sympathetic account of the Silesian weavers' revolt of 1844. It was reproduced by hectograph, distributed to workers in Moscow and the surrounding area and, according to Mitskevich, was 'a great success'.<sup>4</sup>

Until this point, the Social-Democratic movement had not been centred round a unified body, but rather took the form of a network of study groups, usually led by one dominant circle. If this group were shut down, a new study group would take up the leadership. However, due to the growth in strength and support for the Social-Democrats after a successful 1 May campaign in 1894, the various study groups in the city joined together to form the Moscow Workers' Union. In 1895, it led another successful propaganda campaign to celebrate the 1 May, in which Anna was heavily involved.<sup>5</sup> The group issued pamphlets and held meetings with workers in preparation for the event and on the day itself. High numbers of workers participated in the political meetings and the Union began to open up contact with other revolutionary groups in towns across Russia, including Kiev, Saratov and Ekaterinoslav.<sup>6</sup>

Anna and Mark established links with revolutionaries in St Petersburg, including the group which Vladimir joined when he moved to the capital, known as the *stariki* (elders), which was formed from the remainder of the Brusnev group and whose members included S.I. Radchenko, G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, Ol'ga's university friends Nevzorova and Iakubova, and an underground printing press group.<sup>7</sup> The Ul'ianovs corresponded and visited each other regularly, using their personal connection as a cover for their revolutionary communication.<sup>8</sup> Police reports recorded Anna also visiting Radchenko and other revolutionaries who were known to the authorities or under police surveillance.<sup>9</sup> In Moscow, Anna arranged for Vladimir to make his first appearances as a speaker in the local revolutionary circles in 1894. By this time, Anna's flat was 'the central attraction of the Moscow revolutionary underground' and it was she who introduced Vladimir to V.D. Bonch-Bruevich, who would become a close ally in the ensuing years.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, she did not immediately admit to him that the visiting speaker, nicknamed the Peterburzhets, was her brother.<sup>11</sup>

Besides organising revolutionary communication, Anna's duties included fund-raising, arranging secret signals for underground meetings, finding 'clean' addresses to which illegal literature could be sent, producing propaganda and conducting correspondence.<sup>12</sup> Due to her technical knowledge, when the Petersburg group was 'utterly defeated' by the police, Anna was able to send an experienced agitator, Kolokol'nikov, to the capital to help revive it.<sup>13</sup> She was able to provide him with the secret signal required to meet with other members of the group.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, Anna consistently worked to support Social-Democrats and the Workers' Union in Moscow and to help them overcome the

difficulties caused by regular police interference and arrests. In late 1896, when M.F. Vladimirkii, the current leader of the Union, was arrested, Anna began working with I.F. Dubrovinskii, a future Bolshevik, to maintain the Social-Democratic movement. When, in December 1897, he in turn was arrested, Anna helped re-establish party links and re-organise work.<sup>15</sup> Mitskevich recorded that Anna 'played a prominent role in the Moscow party organisation' in the years 1895–1898, acting as 'the centre of communication in the organisation'.<sup>16</sup>

Although Anna managed to avoid arrest in the 1890s, Vladimir did not and in December 1895 he was imprisoned in St Petersburg. Anna and the rest of the family moved to a dacha on the outskirts of the city to be nearer to him, staying there for six months. During this period, Anna provided her brother with care and support, bringing him clean clothes and basic supplies, but she also, and more importantly, gave Vladimir invaluable political help. Anna had experience of this type of conspiratorial activity, having regularly visited fellow revolutionaries in prison in Moscow, including Fedoseev.<sup>17</sup> Anna's visits to Vladimir were opportunities for her to pass on news about the situation of the revolutionary movement and to receive instructions from her brother. Anna's descriptions of her prison visits to Vladimir show how the siblings could relate information covertly without a pre-arranged set of code-words. Anna wrote:

We spoke in allusions, using foreign words for such awkward ones as 'strike' or 'leaflet'. I would come loaded with news and try my best to pass it on, while he in turn exerted himself to pass on his news to me, and to ask me questions. And how we laughed when we managed to understand or get the gist of something complicated. Altogether our meetings appeared to pass in carefree animated chatter, but in reality our minds were working intensely: to understand and make understood, and not to forget anything.<sup>18</sup>

Anna and Vladimir also used the books which Anna sent 'twice a week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays' to exchange coded information.<sup>19</sup> Some of the books Vladimir asked his sister to obtain for him were useful to the research he conducted in prison, but other requests were not genuine and the book titles were included because they contained signal words which allowed him to ask about his comrades.<sup>20</sup> Letters could also be hidden in the pages of the books. Indeed, Anna often brought Vladimir books that had been chosen simply for the thickness of their paper, which would help hide the invisible 'ink'.<sup>21</sup> Anna

recalled sending Vladimir letters written in “‘Weiss auf weiss” (white on white, that is milk or “chemical” on paper), on pages of catalogues, books that were not needed, [and] the last pages of journals’ about people she had met in St Petersburg and the revolutionary situation in Russia.<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, she used a system of ‘dots or dashes in pencil inside individual letters of the alphabet’.<sup>23</sup> Using this system, Vladimir was able to smuggle out to Anna a programme for the First Congress of Social-Democrats which was being planned, which she reproduced and distributed.<sup>24</sup> Brother and sister continued to use this method once Vladimir had been exiled to Siberia and Anna remembered proudly: ‘Not once in all three years of Il’ich’s exile did any one of these letters draw attention to itself.’<sup>25</sup>

In fact, in general, the political content or significance of Anna and Mariia’s letters has been overlooked because it is disguised as family news. For example, a letter to Mariia thanking her for the photograph album is also thanking her for the revolutionary literature concealed inside the pages.<sup>26</sup> In a letter to her husband, Anna gives what appears to be a long description of musical events, writing: ‘There have been no concerts here, and, in general, the troupes are still quite small in number and disorganised after the summer. [...] This year will probably be less musical than last. For now only the violins are being tuned.’<sup>27</sup> As Drabkina deciphers, Anna’s meaning was more likely to be:

There have been no large-scale, open public demonstrations, and, in general, the organisations are quite small in number and disorganised after the summer’s arrests. [...] This year will probably be less successful for our work than last. Work is only beginning to be developed.<sup>28</sup>

Anna often worked closely with her husband in revolutionary activities. Mark, who travelled regularly between Moscow and St Petersburg on business, was a useful courier for transporting illegal literature, which Anna would then distribute to workers’ organisations.<sup>29</sup> However, when Mark’s work took him further afield, Anna often stayed where she was and continued both her own paid work and her revolutionary activities without him.<sup>30</sup>

Just as Anna’s marital relations did not interfere with her revolutionary work, the time she spent helping Vladimir while he was in prison did not disrupt it either. In fact, though she had left her Moscow base for St Petersburg, she soon became a key figure amongst revolutionaries in the capital, working with her brother’s group, now named the

Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. As she put it: 'In 1896 I led almost everything in Petersburg [...] At that time I established a link with Moscow, supplying it, where possible, with literature.'<sup>31</sup>

In May 1897, Anna travelled to Switzerland and the Social-Democratic émigré centre, to collect illegal literature and make contact with the leading figures of the Emancipation of Labour group, G.V. Plekhanov, P.B. Aksel'rod and V.I. Zasulich.<sup>32</sup> At his request, Anna took Vladimir's pamphlet *The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats* with her to find out the group's opinion of it. That Anna maintained links with this group after her return is shown by a letter from Vladimir to Aksel'rod in 1897: 'It would be satisfactory if you would write occasionally [to me in Siberia] by the method which you use with your "old friend" [Anna].'<sup>33</sup>

By now Vladimir was settling into his exile in Siberia and in 1898 he married fellow Social-Democrat, Union of Struggle member and exile, Nadezhda Krupskaya. Anna and Mariia first met Nadezhda when Vladimir was imprisoned and the Ul'ianovs moved to St Petersburg. Mariia seems to have befriended her future sister-in-law immediately. Once Nadezhda had been sent into exile, the two regularly exchanged letters in which they confided in each other and discussed their feelings. They seem to have shared similar traits, with Nadezhda admitting to Mariia: 'It is true I have lost my shyness [...] it used to be a real misfortune. That is why I understand you so well when you write about your being shy.'<sup>34</sup>

In contrast, Anna and Nadezhda seem to have had a rather volatile relationship, which was at times difficult, but at others civil and even affectionate. In 1898, Nadezhda wrote to Mariia: 'Kiss A.I. and tell her it is not nice of her to give such accounts of me everywhere: to Volodia she wrote about me looking like a herring, to Bulochka<sup>35</sup> she complained of my slyness.'<sup>36</sup> On several occasions, Anna reproached Nadezhda for not writing often enough.<sup>37</sup>

Anna's behaviour at this point was not pleasant, yet without her letters to Nadezhda it is difficult to fully understand the reasons for her attitude.<sup>38</sup> Anna scolded all her relatives for not writing often enough.<sup>39</sup> Like her brother Vladimir, Anna had a temper and could be sharp with people. Aleksandr had said that one of Anna's character flaws was her 'unevenness of character', and Anna called herself 'capricious'.<sup>40</sup> Nadezhda's letters to Anna and Mariia were generally gentle in tone; she once wrote in reply to Anna's 'reproaches': 'well, I admit I am guilty but am deserving of leniency.'<sup>41</sup> However, Nadezhda also had a

temper and stated in one letter that she did not know 'how to be amiable'.<sup>42</sup> She once admitted to Mariia that she was 'a faithless creature, promising to write and then not a word'.<sup>43</sup> Although Nadezhda planned to 'discuss everything' and presumably resolve matters with Anna when she visited with Mariia Aleksandrovna in 1900, Nadezhda felt that she 'lost her head' and got distracted by the other guests who were there at the time.<sup>44</sup> As a result she did not manage to have her talk with Anna.

Anna's behaviour is often put down to jealousy of Nadezhda's relationship with Vladimir, rather than to a clash of personalities or a simple misunderstanding.<sup>45</sup> Yet the evidence often used to support this could be interpreted in another way. For example, the following letter from Nadezhda is often cited:

[Anna] is indignant that I give my letters to Volodia to 'edit', but in most cases I describe our Shushenskoe life in humorous terms and Volodia comes in for a lot of ribbing in them; I would not write such letters if I did not give them to him to read [before I send them].<sup>46</sup>

Perhaps Anna was jealous that she did not hear all the news about Vladimir from Nadezhda, yet it is also possible that Anna, who was not afraid to speak her mind to her husband, felt that her sister-in-law was being too deferential to Vladimir.

Anna and Nadezhda did not quarrel all the time, however. In the summer of 1898, Anna sent Nadezhda a gift of a book *The Agitator*, inscribed with 'For Nadia' (Nadezhda confessed to Mariia in September that so far she had 'done nothing but intend' to write and thank Anna).<sup>47</sup> Anna also ensured that her brother and sister-in-law were well supplied with food, clothes and books to help them survive their Siberian exile, an experience that wrought terrible physical and mental strain on many revolutionaries.<sup>48</sup> Included in these parcels were letters about the revolutionary movement and illegal literature. Often it was Nadezhda who replied to these, for Vladimir was very slow to write personal letters and was happy to delegate the writing of political ones to his wife as well.<sup>49</sup>

Anna had much to communicate, for the movement in Moscow was developing rapidly. In 1898, shortly after the First Congress of Social-Democrats at which the Russian Social-Democratic Party (RSDRP) was established, efforts were made to form local party committees. Anna worked with some of the most experienced members of the Workers'



Union and some newer recruits, including A.V. Lunacharskii, to form the first Moscow party committee. It began its work by issuing several proclamations and preparing for the celebrations of 1 May 1899.<sup>50</sup>

By this time, Anna's activities were being monitored closely by the police and were reported to include corresponding with revolutionaries abroad, as well as helping others organise Social-Democratic circles and hiding an illegal printing press.<sup>51</sup> Anna later called this period her 'party probation' despite her leading role and her already considerable experience as an activist, not to mention the fact that she was now well-known to the police as a Social-Democrat.<sup>52</sup>

Anna escaped what she thought was her imminent arrest in 1900 by going abroad for two years. Initially she went to visit Vladimir in Munich, where he was settling into his first self-imposed exile in Europe in 1900. McNeal interprets this as an underhand attempt on Anna's part 'to establish herself as Lenin's personal assistant before Krupskaja could appear on the scene'.<sup>53</sup> This seems to assume that Anna's had no ambitions but to serve her brother and that she was jealous of anyone who might take her place. However, it is more likely that Anna was simply motivated by a desire to give her brother support in the first days of his lonely exile.<sup>54</sup> Anna moved on to Switzerland shortly after her sister-in-law arrived, but it was not long before Vladimir and Nadezhda made plans to visit her. Nadezhda wrote to Mariia Aleksandrovna: 'I am looking forward to the journey with great pleasure – firstly, because I want to see Aniuta, and secondly, because I want to have a look at the mountains.'<sup>55</sup>

Anna clearly viewed her time in Europe as more than an opportunity to see her brother. She travelled between Germany and France, 'joined local social-democratic groups' and 'visited workers' meetings, lectures and speeches by German and French socialists'.<sup>56</sup> She worked for Plekhanov's 'theoretical and philosophical magazine' *Zaria (Dawn)* and 'participated in a social-democratic conference in Paris'.<sup>57</sup> This is probably the Paris Conference of the Second International, which called for a united struggle against militarism and colonialism.<sup>58</sup> In Berlin in 1902, Anna led an *Iskra* group.<sup>59</sup>

Even in 1900, Anna was so well-known as a revolutionary that when she went to Europe she was kept under surveillance by a Russian police agent based abroad. Anna's awareness that she was being followed and her correspondence intercepted was one of the reasons she travelled so widely in Europe.<sup>60</sup> When Anna returned to Russia in August 1902, the police wrote:

[Elizarova] is a person of extremely harmful tendencies. Using her foreign contacts she gives assistance to the introduction of illegal literature to the limits of the Empire, communicates information about events in Russia to foreign revolutionary activists and underground publications, and gives support and services to revolutionary organisations. [...] While in Berlin [...] she joined the local group of the revolutionary organisation of *Iskra* and took an active part in its activities. [...] In view of Elizarova's serious significance, the Department of Police [...] asks that she be put under police surveillance, without her knowledge.<sup>61</sup>

Mariia's path into the Moscow underground movement differed from Anna's. When the Ul'ianovs moved to the city in 1893 she was only fifteen and still finishing her secondary education, so she did not immediately join the Workers' Union. Mitskevich does not, for example, mention meeting Mariia when he was first introduced to the family, which points to Mariia's non-involvement in the movement at that time.<sup>62</sup> Three years later, Mariia enrolled on the Moscow equivalent of the Bestuzhev Courses, the Guerrier Higher Courses, to study physics, chemistry and maths. She quickly became involved in Marxist student circles and then in the Workers' Union.<sup>63</sup> She and Dmitrii, who had become involved in the revolutionary student community at Moscow University, began to work as propagandists representing the Workers' Union in the Allied Council of United Student Societies, formed by representatives of student *zemliachestva*. Soon the two groups were working closely together to campaign amongst students in Moscow.<sup>64</sup> Mariia also became involved in worker education circles and in smuggling illegal literature.<sup>65</sup>

She moved with the rest of the family to St Petersburg when Vladimir was arrested and visited him on occasion. Going to Moscow in 1898, she joined the new party committee, but her work for the party stopped when she enrolled at Brussels University. Returning to the family home in Podol'sk in the summer of 1899, Mariia took up her underground activities again, going to Moscow every day to work for the party committee.<sup>66</sup> There, the police noted, Mariia had dealings with politically unreliable individuals, was involved in fund-raising evenings and was storing an illegal printing press.<sup>67</sup> In similar tones to Anna, Mariia modestly described her activities at this point as 'minor'.<sup>68</sup> However, they were enough to lead to the confiscation of her international passport, and her arrest and exile to Nizhnii Novgorod in October 1899. Mariia was able to appeal successfully

against her exile due to the lack of evidence against her.<sup>69</sup> She returned to Moscow and continued her revolutionary work, which included composing and publishing party proclamations. She was arrested once more and placed in solitary confinement for seven months. While Mariia Aleksandrovna petitioned the prison governor to allow her to visit her daughter, Vladimir wrote a long and detailed letter to his sister, advising her on how to cope with solitary confinement by doing daily exercises, varying her work by switching between reading, translating and writing, and reading fiction in the evening for relaxation.<sup>70</sup> In October 1900, Mariia was sentenced to three years' exile in Samara.

By now the Ul'ianov family had quite a reputation with the police. Each member was seen as equally radical and dangerous. For example, in one police report about Mariia, it was stated:

Mariia Il'inichna undoubtedly upholds the revolutionary tradition of her family, who are distinguished by an extremely harmful tendency. Her brother, Aleksandr, was executed in 1887 for his participation in a terrorist conspiracy, Vladimir has been sent to Siberia for treason, and Dmitrii was recently put under police surveillance for the propagation of social-democratic ideas. Sister Anna is in constant contact with foreign agents and is, like her husband Mark Timofeevich Elizarov, under police surveillance.<sup>71</sup>

## The spark

In the 1890s, the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in St Petersburg was engaged in a debate over membership and tactics which was being addressed by the whole Russian Social-Democratic movement. The newest members of the Union, the *molodie* (youngsters), who were supported by Iakubova and her future husband K.M. Takhtarev, argued that workers should be allowed to join the group, while the elders argued that only intellectuals should be members and perhaps the few workers who were the most politically conscious and well educated in Social-Democratic theory. The elders believed that only intellectuals, with their knowledge of revolutionary theory, could provide leadership to the working class. In their view, it was the revolutionary's duty to educate workers in political ideas using propaganda, that is studying revolutionary literature with small groups of workers. While some popular literature had its place in the revolutionary campaign, it was crucial to maintain a high level of theoretical understanding amongst group members and workers.

However, the youngsters believed that the workers themselves should organise and lead the revolutionary movement, while the intellectual's role was to assist these efforts, particularly during strikes. This group was also particularly in favour of agitation as a campaign method, that is printing leaflets with accessible revolutionary content for the widest possible distribution amongst workers.

On the issue of tactics, Anna tended to favour the use of agitation over propaganda and throughout her career defended the use of popular, accessible party literature over the theoretical. In the 1890s, the Workers' Union to which Anna belonged embraced the new tactics promoted by the youngsters, and moved from conducting 'narrow propaganda circles' to 'mass agitation amongst workers, establishing practical links between Marxist organisations and the masses of Moscow workers'.<sup>72</sup> Anna herself contributed to the production of agitational material, composing a leaflet discussing Dement'ev's *Factory*.<sup>73</sup> Like Anna's translation of *Die Weber*, this was read widely by workers.

Mariia too held a belief in the need for workers to be able to express their experience of the struggle for the establishment of socialism, developing this view most clearly after the revolution as leader of the Rabkor movement. Yet during the underground movement and after, Mariia refused to sacrifice the theoretical foundations of the Social-Democrats' programme when campaigning amongst workers. When in Geneva in 1904, for example, Mariia was perturbed by how little knowledge of Marxist theory party members had, especially since it was they who were conducting educational propaganda circles amongst workers. She argued that it could only damage the 'party's prestige' if its propagandists were discovered to be ignorant of Social-Democratic theory.<sup>74</sup>

When many of the elders, including Vladimir, were arrested and exiled, leaving the youngsters in a leading role in the Union of Struggle, the debate over tactics and worker membership intensified, developing into a campaign against Economism, the name given (by their opponents) to the tendency to support agitation and full worker involvement. The Economists' critics argued that if workers were allowed to set their own revolutionary agenda, their aims and demands would only ever be economic in nature and not political. Anna inadvertently gave Vladimir a weapon to use against the Economists when she sent him a document which discussed the Social-Democratic movement in Russia. It was written by E.D. Kuskova and S.N. Prokopovich, two moderate socialists who had 'some influence amongst the "youngsters"' and who argued that it was easier for Russian workers to begin

their struggle against autocracy with economic, rather than political demands.<sup>75</sup> For brevity, while writing a chemical letter to Vladimir, Anna called it the credo of the youngsters. Although she did not intend to give the impression that the younger Social-Democrats saw it as their programme (indeed, Kuskova herself was indignant that the document had been given such a name), Vladimir seized on it as such and wrote a formal protest against it.<sup>76</sup>

The anti-Economism campaign was taken up by the newspaper *Iskra*, which had been established by Vladimir, two of his comrades and Plekhanov's Emancipation of Labour group. It represented the first attempt to unite RSDRP members around a single political programme. It was to be a publication through which Social-Democrats abroad could gain an understanding of the situation in Russia and which local activists could use in their campaign. A network of *Iskra* agents was established to support the newspaper. In Russia they helped raise funds for the newspaper and arranged for its distribution amongst revolutionary groups and workers across the country, as well as sent a variety of materials about the working class and the revolutionary movement to the editors, including letters from the workers themselves. *Iskra* also became the vehicle through which Vladimir expressed his vision for the party and campaigned for a second Party Congress.<sup>77</sup>

Anna and Mariia both worked for *Iskra* and this meant that Vladimir could deploy them to promote his call for the congress, as well as exert some influence through them over the delegates chosen from local Russian groups to attend it.<sup>78</sup> While the Ul'ianovs had always been close political allies, it was during this period that they began to operate as a mini-network of revolutionaries working towards a specific aim. In retrospect, its existence had important consequences for Vladimir, for Anna and Mariia, and for the RSDRP as a whole.<sup>79</sup> Indeed it has been argued that the Ul'ianov network 'strengthened the country's party organisations, gathering them most closely around V.I. Lenin'.<sup>80</sup> It also meant that at times when Vladimir was politically (and geographically) isolated, he still had trustworthy allies, on whose loyalty and knowledge of the RSDRP in Russia he could rely. For example, when, in 1901, Vladimir had doubts about the reliability of the Social-Democrat and writer Aleksandr Iulievich Finn-Enotaevskii, whom he wanted to meet, he wrote to Aksel'rod: 'To get to the bottom of all this, I shall write at once to my sister [Anna], who knew Finn before his arrest and met him in Moscow.'<sup>81</sup> Anna and Mariia also benefited from the network since they had direct access to the latest information from abroad.

As mentioned above, Anna helped found *Iskra* while abroad between 1900 and 1902, working for a branch of the newspaper's organisation in Berlin.<sup>82</sup> She also wrote one or two pieces for the newspaper, including an allegory encouraging the revolutionaries to stand together in the 'battles' against autocracy and for the revolution, so that they would achieve 'the bright dawn of a new life and new happiness!'.<sup>83</sup>

On returning to Russia in 1902, Anna travelled to Tomsk to join her husband who had been arrested in Moscow in 1901 and sentenced to two years' exile. Anna found Social-Democratic activity in the town in a state of collapse.<sup>84</sup> Revolutionary groups in Siberia had united to form an umbrella organisation, the Siberian Social-Democratic Union, to coordinate revolutionary work in the region. However, it operated independently of the RSDRP, and because its headquarters were in Irkutsk, many of Tomsk's activists had moved there, leaving the local committee short of 'people and funds'.<sup>85</sup> On top of this, the Siberian Social-Democratic Union was not issuing any literature. Anna immediately began to make efforts to revive activity in Tomsk, writing to the editorial board of *Iskra* requesting editions of the newspaper, as well as copies of *What Is To Be Done?*, which the local revolutionaries 'had not seen'.<sup>86</sup> She added: 'The latter is especially needed. [...] It will be necessary to struggle with various primitive enterprises.'<sup>87</sup>

Vladimir had published *What Is To Be Done?* that year. In it he criticised Economism and argued persuasively that the RSDRP must be a party of disciplined, professional revolutionaries if it was to be successful. Anna and Mariia never explicitly stated their opinion of *What Is To Be Done?*, but it is clear from their letters and their actions that they supported Vladimir's vision for the party. Indeed, Anna's description of Tomsk activities as 'primitive' in the letter above was probably influenced by Vladimir's use of the term in *What Is To Be Done?*, where he defined it as:

Lack of practical training, of ability to carry on organisational work [...], a narrow scope of revolutionary work generally, failure to understand that a good organisation of revolutionaries cannot be built on the basis of such narrow activity, and lastly – and this is the main thing – attempts to justify this narrowness and to elevate it to a special 'theory'.<sup>88</sup>

Vladimir argued that Economism was particularly vulnerable to 'narrow' work, by which he meant that it was devoted to agitating amongst the workers using economic questions, rather than leading a political struggle.

Anna's Tomsk activities were successful. Anna joined forces with two *Iskra* agents in the town, whom she had known in Berlin, as well as with other local supporters to form an *Iskra* group called the Siberian Group of Revolutionary Social-Democrats.<sup>89</sup> It represented an important alternative organisation to the Tomsk Committee of the Union, not least because it was directly linked to the RSDRP.<sup>90</sup> Having established an *Iskra* centre in Siberia, Anna was then able to receive addresses for the Omsk and Irkutsk committees from Vladimir so that she could make contact with them and carry out the 'very important' task of sending the Second Party Congress mandate to them.<sup>91</sup>

The strength of the Siberian Group of Revolutionary Social-Democrats was demonstrated the following year when it influenced proceedings at the first conference of Siberian Social-Democrats, which was held in July. When the Tomsk committee's representatives announced their group's plan to form a Fighting Organisation, the conference 'condemned' the proposal as 'a breach of the centralism proposed in V.I. Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?*'.<sup>92</sup> One can only assume that this objection was voiced or at least influenced by the Siberian Group of Revolutionary Social Democrats.

Mariia had begun working for *Iskra* before her arrest in Moscow, receiving the newspaper hidden in the covers of books sent from abroad and then arranging for its reproduction and distribution.<sup>93</sup> Mariia continued this work once in exile in Samara; her letters to the *Iskra* editorial board are full of arrangements for the sending of the newspaper to clean addresses.<sup>94</sup> The *Iskra* group there was so successful that when Krzhizhanovskii and his wife Zinaida were assigned to form the Bureau of the Russian Organisation of *Iskra*, they were sent to Samara.<sup>95</sup> The first All-Russia *Iskra* Conference was held in the town in 1902 and it was during this meeting that the Bureau was established. Mariia attended the conference and was appointed secretary to the *Iskra* Bureau, while Dmitrii, who had recently moved to the region to work as a doctor, became a member of it.<sup>96</sup>

Mariia also worked to revive revolutionary activity in Samara in general, establishing correspondence links with committees in Ufa and St Petersburg and arranging for the issuing of revolutionary literature.<sup>97</sup> She contributed to the campaign against Economism by helping to compose a pamphlet which attacked the Economists and called for a 'decisive [...] struggle' against them.<sup>98</sup> However, now that her term of exile was coming to an end, Mariia was beginning to think about leaving Samara. She wrote to Vladimir in February 1903 requesting that he advise her on where to move so that she could be of most use to the

movement. For conspiratorial purposes she referred to herself in the third person:

Bear [Mariia] asks [me] to pass on that he would like to migrate somewhere where he could be of use. He earnestly asks you to give him instructions regarding this. You know what kind of creature he is and, consequently, can judge where he will be best placed. He would not be averse to calling in on you for a while, if he knew that he could be useful there [...]. Or, perhaps, you [could] arrange somewhere for him in Akulina. Bear would be very grateful if Old Man [Vladimir] would tell [him] his opinion regarding this.<sup>99</sup>

However, Vladimir declined to advise Mariia, arguing that he knew too little about the situation on the ground to make a decision, and suggested instead that she consult Krzhizhanovskii.<sup>100</sup> Anna joined Mariia in Samara in the summer and took an interest in her sister's plans. She wrote to Vladimir on her sister's behalf suggesting that Mariia might be useful at his headquarters. In particular she showed concern for Nadezhda's well being, referring to her affectionately using the diminutive of her code name Fish (*Ryba*):

Bear cub's [Mariia's] work has still not finished. Where he will be is for now unknown. Wouldn't he be useful to you? I heard that Little Fish [*Rybochka*; Nadezhda] is absolutely emaciated and tired, while in these last years [Mariia] has become good at this work, so he could really help.<sup>101</sup>

Indeed, loyalties and political alliances were soon to be tested when the Second Party Congress convened that July. The Congress divided over various issues, including how to define a party member and how the party should be organised. From these disputes emerged the fractions of Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, with the former supporting a party of strong central leadership, with disciplined members who, as professional revolutionaries, followed party directives unquestioningly and the latter favouring a less tightly structured party, to which any worker could claim loyalty and in which initiative was fostered. Soviet biographies of the sisters stress that from the moment of the split Anna and Mariia became staunch Bolsheviks and, by implication, Leninists.<sup>102</sup> However, the split of 1903 was not the decisive and permanent event described in Soviet historiography: Bolshevik and Menshevik groups were loosely defined, at this stage being a Bolshevik was not



synonymous with being a Leninist, and there were attempts at reconciliations. The split was often of far less importance in Russia than amongst the exiles in Europe. Indeed, in 1903, the reaction of most RSDRP groups in Russia to the split was of incomprehension and opposition.<sup>103</sup>

The Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the congress. Despite having been defeated over the issue of the definition of a party member, they won the debate on every other issue, including how the party was to be structured. However, in the aftermath of the congress, it was the Menshevik group that grew in strength and began to dominate *Iskra* and the RSDRP.<sup>104</sup> Vladimir remained a member of the Central Committee, but resigned from the editorial board of *Iskra* and spent the next two years trying to shore up support for his point of view.

Anna and Mariia's help was even more important after the congress and the split, when Lenin's allies had to work together in order to consolidate and demonstrate their fraction's strength and capability. Nadezhda wrote urgently to Mariia in Samara just after the congress:

Please, take care of the even distribution [of literature], the obtaining of correspondence and so on. This is a terribly important moment. It smells of a split. If our old friends don't exert their strength, in order to demonstrate the [Bolshevik dominated] Central Committee's efficiency, all our work will have been wasted.<sup>105</sup>

Kiev had been designated as the site of the Russian Central Committee of the RSDRP. Krzhizhanovskii soon advised Mariia to join the Kiev group, and Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna arrived shortly after. This influx of Ul'ianovs did not go unnoticed by the police and reports were filed which even included details about the amount of luggage they had brought. Anna and Mariia joined the newly formed and understaffed Technical Bureau, which coordinated the flow of illegal literature, party correspondence and arranged the deployment of revolutionary activists around Russia. Their regular correspondence with RSDRP and pro-Bolshevik committees throughout Russia and abroad promoted their brother's political views and established a network of loyal Bolshevik groups who were happy to be led by Lenin.<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, it seems from Mariia's letters that she was amongst those who were perturbed by the split at the Second Congress. In November 1903, she looked forward to 'a new era of party relations' which would lead to 'calmer, more friendly work in the name of the best interests of the party'.<sup>107</sup>

This letter was in fact intercepted by the police, who reported that the writer 'must be the well-known social-democrat Mariia Il'inichna

Ul'ianova'.<sup>108</sup> On the night of 1 January 1904 the police took action against the Kiev committee, conducting over two hundred searches and arresting and imprisoning fifty people, including Anna, Mariia and Dmitrii, who had arrived in Kiev in December.<sup>109</sup> Despite their campaign, the police could find little evidence linking the Ul'ianovs to RSDRP activities in Kiev.<sup>110</sup> In Anna's case, the police resorted to contacting their colleagues in Tomsk asking if they had any evidence of Anna's political unreliability.<sup>111</sup>

Anna made positive use of her time in prison, agitating amongst the prisoners, protesting about conditions in the jail, and 'establishing and strengthening links' between the prisoners and comrades on the outside.<sup>112</sup> She was released in July, a month after her sister. Both went to Sablino, a small town near St Petersburg, and joined the Bolshevik Committee in the capital. Despite Mariia's hopes for a new period of harmonious Bolshevik-Menshevik relations, the situation remained as divided as ever. Indeed, this was a time of the consolidation of the Bolshevik fraction, in opposition to the, by now, Menshevik-dominated Central Committee abroad. In the summer, Vladimir resigned from this Central Committee and he and his group of twenty-two Bolsheviks defied RSDRP policy and began calling for a third Congress.<sup>113</sup> Mariia worked to gain support for her brother's view, sending Lenin's pamphlet *To the Party* to committees across Russia. Some offered support for Lenin, but Mariia admitted to Nadezhda that the Bolsheviks faced a difficult situation, writing: 'Now the minority [*men'shinstvo* i.e. the Mensheviks] and the Central Committee are acting in concert, one hand washes the other.'<sup>114</sup>

Mariia decided to go to Vladimir in Geneva, arriving at the end of 1904 and in time to help form the Bureau of Committees of the Majority [*bol'shinstvo* i.e. the Bolsheviks], a rival Central Committee, which would campaign to win support for the Bolsheviks and their calls for a third Congress.<sup>115</sup> Mariia's duties in the Bureau were to coordinate correspondence with revolutionary groups that were sympathetic to the Bolsheviks as well as organise the distribution of the new Bolshevik organ, *Vpered (Forward)*.<sup>116</sup>

L.A. Fotieva, a fellow underground revolutionary with whom Mariia had a long and close friendship, recalled that Mariia became the key link between Geneva, the international Bolshevik centre, and Paris, where there was a large émigré population of Russian Social-Democrats. She wrote:

[Mariia] informed us about all party news [...writing...] long letters. She communicated information which had been received from

Russia and about what was being done in Geneva. She sent literature, including pamphlets which were published by the Geneva-based Bolshevik publishers, and the newspaper *Vpered* for the Parisian groups and for sending to Russia.<sup>117</sup>

Mariia also remained attentive to her sister, noting when she had not heard from Anna 'for a long time' and trying to arrange translation work for her.<sup>118</sup> At this time, Anna was working to support the technical side of revolutionary activities in the St Petersburg committee, overseeing the group's finances, arranging for *Vpered* to be sent from abroad and producing revolutionary material for use in study circles and for publication. Like Mariia, Anna was not convinced about the efficacy of the split in the RSDRP and when in January 1905, she witnessed Bloody Sunday and the ensuing revolutionary events, she saw an opportunity to reunite the St Petersburg party.

### **'The revolution is beginning'**<sup>119</sup>

On 9 January, G.A. Gapon, the founder of the Assembly of Russian Factory and Plant Workers, led a peaceful demonstration to the Winter Palace with the aim of presenting a petition for reforms to the Tsar. The Assembly had been set up legally under the auspices of a scheme run by the Okhrana, sometimes known as police socialism, by which workers were allowed to organise themselves into unions under strict police supervision. The unions were to limit their activities to improving the economic situation of the workers and were not to engage in political campaigning. Gapon's demonstration, with its calls for fundamental political reforms, therefore, went well beyond the bounds of acceptability in the authorities' view and was harshly repressed. As the country united in condemnation of the use of violence by the state and sympathy protests began, Anna wrote to Vladimir and Nadezhda that the revolution was beginning. She informed them that there had been spontaneous public meetings, followed by attempts to gather weapons, that first-aid posts had been set up and efforts made to agitate amongst soldiers to win them over to the people's cause. Anna initially thought Gapon was a *zubatovets*, a *provocateur* loyal to the founder of the legal union movement, Moscow Okhrana Chief, Zubatov. However, having witnessed events, she told Vladimir and Nadezhda:

[Gapon] is apparently not, after all, a suspicious character. The wave of accumulated public indignation took this semi-literate person,

half naïve in his belief in the Tsar and half not entirely sane, to its crest, and he knew how to master the crowd.<sup>120</sup>

Although Anna did not completely trust Gapon, she saw a revolutionary leader in him and the potential to use the situation to further the RSDRP's cause, particularly because now Gapon subscribed to the aims of the Social-Democrats. She was also amongst those Bolsheviks and Mensheviks in St Petersburg who tried to work together to exploit the crisis. She wrote to Vladimir and Nadezhda: 'It's very good that the [Bolshevik] P[etersburg] C[ommittee] and the [Menshevik] C[entral] C[ommittee] group have united. Now they can start to issue leaflets under a common name.'<sup>121</sup> The alliance led (briefly) to the establishment of a provisional Executive Committee, the pooling of funds and the joint publication of leaflets.<sup>122</sup> Anna was closely involved in the production of leaflets; the Ul'ianovs' maid remembered Anna teaching her how to print leaflets by hand and then making three hundred copies, which Mark took for distribution.<sup>123</sup>

However, while Anna and her colleagues were moving towards an agreement with the Mensheviks in St Petersburg, Vladimir and his group abroad were increasingly hostile to their old comrades. Nadezhda wrote the following to Anna in early 1905:

The foreign squabbles are less worrying. Relations with the Mensheviks are different. Last year, they were still close friends with whom a split was terribly hard; this year, one looks at them as strangers and all their tricks fill us with contempt towards them. They lie and play the swindler at every step. You are surprised no doubt by the epithet with which we decorate them, but how can one not abuse them as swine, with all their tricks.<sup>124</sup>

The events of January 1905 highlighted how isolated Vladimir was from the revolutionary movement in Russia, as did the fact that initially Anna was one of the only people to send Vladimir first-hand information about the revolution.<sup>125</sup> Nadezhda wrote gratefully to Anna: 'The communications sent by you are really needed; they fill in the gaps, and there are very many useful revelations in them. Continue to send them.'<sup>126</sup> Anna's letters were so useful that they were published in an article by Vladimir called 'Revolutionary Days' in *Vpered*.<sup>127</sup> Anna became a regular contributor to *Vpered*, alongside others, such as Bonch-Bruевич. The correspondence she received from Warsaw, Riga, Moscow, Nizhnii Novgorod, Kharkov and L'vov, about demonstrations

and unrest, and revolutionary activity, enabled her to produce reports for publication in *Vpered* and to write informative letters to the Bolshevik centre abroad.<sup>128</sup> Besides this work, Anna contributed to the new Bolshevik journal *Nasha mysl'* (*Our Idea*), writing, for example, biographical notes about Marx, and she translated into Russian K. Liebknecht's *The 1848 Revolution in Germany* and A. Pannekoek's *The Division of Spoils*.<sup>129</sup>

Anna was also able to carry out instructions from Geneva. Nadezhda wrote to warn the members of the Bureau of Committees of the Majority in St Petersburg, including Anna, that the Mensheviks had 'taken aim on Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod'.<sup>130</sup> She also wrote specifically to Anna requesting that she establish links between the Bolsheviks abroad and Nizhnii Novgorod, presumably in an attempt to counter the Mensheviks' influence.<sup>131</sup>

In Geneva, Mariia was 'overloaded with all sorts of work' and her letters from this time provide an insight into her activities, her political views and her centrality to work at the Bolshevik headquarters.<sup>132</sup> On 23 April 1905, for example, Mariia sent conspiratorial letters to four Russian towns, including Moscow and St Petersburg, containing information about the dispatch of *Vpered* to them, up-dates on the Bolshevik position and requests for news about the local situation.<sup>133</sup> Writing these letters would have been time-consuming, repetitive work, but regular communication was crucial to the smooth-running of the Bolshevik campaign for the convocation of a third Party Congress. It was also a difficult task which required skill and patience. It is clear in these letters that Mariia's expertise in conducting chemical correspondence was not matched by all revolutionaries. She wrote to V.I. Nevskii: 'We received your letter. It was written so badly, that at least a third of the letter remains illegible, and it's the same with most of your letters. Please do a [chemical] test every time, before writing, otherwise it's a real nuisance.'<sup>134</sup>

Mariia's letters show that she believed strongly in the need for a congress, branding the Menshevik-dominated Central Committee's prevarication over whether to agree to attend it 'ugly and hypocritical'.<sup>135</sup> She was also well aware of the ambivalence towards the split amongst Russian committees, referring regularly to 'swampy' (*bolotistie*) committees who had yet to decide officially whether their loyalty lay with the Bolsheviks or the Mensheviks.<sup>136</sup> In April, as the Third Congress convened in London, Mariia wrote to Anna in St Petersburg with new optimism, noting that even Vladimir seemed willing to compromise. She wrote: 'Work is going well, harmoniously, there is no scheming, there

will probably be no "incidents". Shkurka [Vladimir] defeated everyone with his own "swampishness", good naturedly with a patient mood. They've all fallen in love with us.'<sup>137</sup>

Mariia had high hopes for the Third Congress, writing to Preobrazhenskii that now there was a chance that 'more time [could] be given to positive work, and not to squabbles'.<sup>138</sup> This comment suggests that Mariia was frustrated by the constant in-fighting of the émigré RSDRP community. Nadezhda noted that Mariia was 'indifferent to foreign emigration life' and it is possible that Mariia's decision to return to Russia was influenced by her desire to do more 'positive work' at the grassroots level and escape the disputes which looked set to continue to convulse the émigré community.<sup>139</sup> Intra-party relations were not improved by the Third Congress; the Mensheviks walked out of it and held their own conference in Geneva. While the Third Congress elected a new Central Committee, the Mensheviks formed their own Organisational Committee.

Mariia arrived in St Petersburg in the summer of 1905 and joined Anna in the work of the Bolshevik committee there. One of their letters to Vladimir and Nadezhda reveals that as usual the two sisters had taken responsibility for the technical aspects of party activities, but also highlights the difficulties they faced in maintaining communications and receiving newspapers. Anna wrote that Mariia was 'running around like one possessed, leaving [...] early in the morning and returning late at night' and was already showing signs of 'edginess and overwork'.<sup>140</sup> Mariia's party responsibilities were considerable. She had become the secretary of the Vasilevskii Island Committee and the Petersburg Committee itself.<sup>141</sup> She was running workers' circles in a local textile factory and helping to organise their May Day celebrations. She was also gathering and editing worker correspondence for one of the Bolsheviks' newspapers, *Novaia zhizn'* (*New Life*), an activity which foreshadowed her later work for the Rabkor movement.<sup>142</sup> When the *Novaia zhizn'* printing press was confiscated by the police, Mariia established a new one, teaching both Bolshevik and Menshevik activists in St Petersburg how to sustain an underground press.<sup>143</sup> It is indicative of the difference in attitude towards the split of the émigrés and grass-roots activists that on returning to Russia Mariia began to work with Mensheviks, despite her loyal Bolshevik stance in Geneva.

For her part, Anna was increasingly impatient that *Proletarii* (*The Proletarian*), as *Vpered* had been renamed, was not reaching the capital, which meant that although changes to correspondence addresses were being published, she did not know about them and therefore could not

send letters.<sup>144</sup> Nor could she read about the Bolsheviks' policy on the Duma, the constituent assembly that had been established by Nicholas II as part of his concessions after the uprisings of 1905. Mariia admitted that the Petersburg Committee had only found out about the Central Committee's proposals for the RSDRP's reaction to the Duma through 'oral accounts by representatives of the CC' and they were causing 'heated debates'.<sup>145</sup> Many, she wrote, were strongly opposed to the proposal to stage an uprising for the day of the convocation of the Duma for it would cause 'the violent disruption of the Duma and a political strike'.<sup>146</sup>

Vladimir returned to Russia in time to attend the First Party Conference in late 1905, at which the Bolsheviks agreed to boycott the first Duma in protest at the formulation of electoral law, which weighted the voting system against workers. Lenin accepted this policy despite the fact that he, like the Mensheviks, favoured exploiting the elections and the Duma as a platform for revolutionary propaganda. It was also agreed that attempts should be made to reunify the party. Unable to live legally in St Petersburg, Vladimir settled in Finland, relying on Mariia and Nadezhda to act as his go-betweens. Acting in her capacity of secretary to the Petersburg Committee, Mariia set up a secret meeting point at a local dentist's so that Vladimir could meet various underground activists of the Central and Petersburg Committees, who visited under the pretence of needing dental treatment and used the time to discuss current issues.<sup>147</sup>

Mariia continued to work in the capital despite the fact that government efforts to limit the reforms of 1905 and the repressive measures introduced to restore order in the country were making revolutionary activities difficult and dangerous. She narrowly avoided imprisonment in 1906 when she was arrested at a workers' meeting. By refusing to divulge her address to the police for twelve hours on the grounds that a night-time search of her flat would terrify her mother, who was now elderly and infirm, she provided time for Anna and her mother to arrange for Fotieva to remove any incriminating evidence from the apartment. By the time the police escorted Mariia to her flat in the morning, there was no evidence to convict her.<sup>148</sup>

Mariia also took on the less risky task of translating Marx's letters to Kugelmann, which discussed the role of the working class in revolution and the workers' armed uprising in Paris which led to the establishment of the Commune.<sup>149</sup> While the letters praised the Parisian workers' efforts, they also analysed the reasons for their failure, which seemed particular pertinent in view of the revolutionary events of

1905.<sup>150</sup> Mariia enjoyed working closely with Vladimir on this project, for he edited her translations and wrote an introduction to the first edition, which was published in 1907.<sup>151</sup> In it Lenin found a positive message in Marx's letters that struggle by the masses 'even for a hopeless cause' was 'essential for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the *next* struggle'.<sup>152</sup> He also used the letters to attack Plekhanov's negative assessment of the workers' involvement in the 1905 revolution.<sup>153</sup>

The RSDRP continued to be divided over a number of issues. The Fourth Party Congress, held in Stockholm in April 1906, had failed to reunite the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, despite agreements to do so. A secret Bolshevik centre, with its organ *Proletarii*, continued to operate, and the Fifth Party Congress of April 1907 highlighted the continuing differences between the fractions. When the second Duma was dissolved in June 1907, the controversial issue of RSDRP involvement in elections was raised yet again. Lenin began campaigning once more for an end to the boycott of elections. Mariia used a trip to the Volga region to communicate to various committees her brother's views, which were set out in a letter to her in June 1907.<sup>154</sup>

Mariia then moved to Finland to join Vladimir and Nadezhda and worked with her sister-in-law to prepare the decisions of the recent Party Congress for publication and distribution amongst party members. In October, she decided to return to St Petersburg, as Vladimir made preparations to go abroad once more, but she was loathe to leave, writing to Anna: 'V[ladimir] [...] is a dear darling – how lonely I will be without him. And without everyone.'<sup>155</sup> Indeed, she soon followed him abroad, arriving in Geneva in the summer of 1908, before moving with Vladimir and Nadezhda to Paris at the end of the year. Mariia found herself in the thick of party intrigues again, this time over the party's Duma tactics. At the Party Conference called in 1907 to discuss the implications of the dissolution of the second Duma and the government's reforms of the electoral law at the expense of working class representation, A.A. Bogdanov, Vladimir's erstwhile ally, and the Bolsheviks had argued for a boycott of the Third Duma, while the Mensheviks pushed for participation in the assembly and co-operation with other parties. Lenin had disagreed with both sides, proposing that the RSDRP sponsor candidates in the Duma, who would remain independent from any other party. His view prevailed, but soon certain members of the Bolshevik fraction, the Ultimatumists, began calling for tighter control over the party's representatives in the Duma while others, the Recallists, demanded the withdrawal of the RSDRP's



delegates from the Duma.<sup>156</sup> Lenin and Plekhanov started preparing for a campaign against these groups as well as against the Liquidators amongst the Mensheviks, who argued in favour of dissolving the illegal party and conducting the political struggle legitimately.

In February Mariia wrote to Anna telling her that 'war' had started 'against A.A. [Bogdanov]', with whom Lenin now disagreed on the issue of participation in the Duma, as well as over philosophy.<sup>157</sup> She was also able to pass on details of the situation to her sister through Mark, who visited the Ul'ianovs in Paris in February 1909.<sup>158</sup> In May, Vladimir wrote to Anna: 'Things are bad here – there will probably be a split. I hope that in a month or six weeks I shall be able to give you exact information. So far I can do no more than guess.'<sup>159</sup> In June, Vladimir held a meeting with the editorial board of *Proletarii* and representatives of his few supporters in Russia to condemn Ultimatumism and Recallism.<sup>160</sup> At the meeting, Vladimir ensured that Bogdanov, his former ally, was expelled from the Bolsheviks.<sup>161</sup>

In the same month, Mariia reported the 'very interesting fact' that Plekhanov, who was also in dispute with Bogdanov, had left the editorial board of the Menshevik organ, *Golos sotsial-demokratov* (*The Voice of the Social-Democrats*).<sup>162</sup> Mariia continued in her letter:

The main reason [for Plekhanov's departure] is his lack of sympathy for 'liquidatorism', which the [*Golos*] editorial board is obviously over-indulgent towards, but [he is] not a little influenced by [Vladimir's] work [*Materialism and empiriocriticism*]. So we are on the eve of great events and new stratifications.<sup>163</sup>

Although Mariia recognised the significance of such shifts in allegiances, she found that splits made the 'atmosphere very heavy' and described the details of the more unpleasant disputes as 'filth'.<sup>164</sup> Mariia was also prepared to defend revolutionaries who did not adhere to the new RSDRP rules forbidding co-operation with representatives from other parties. In 1909 E. Adamovich, who worked for the Vasilevskii Island Bolsheviks, faced censure from her comrades for arguing that while underground groups were under such intense pressure from the Imperial government, it was not improper to ally even with Kadets 'in technical [or] material dealings' as long as matters of principle were not at stake.<sup>165</sup> Adamovich had worked with Anna in 1898–1899 and Mariia in 1905–1906 in underground groups and therefore felt able to turn to Mariia for help. Mariia immediately dispatched a letter defending Adamovich's character and dedication as a revolu-

tionary. That her letter caused Adamovich's accusers to retreat is evidence of Mariia's high standing in the party at this time.<sup>166</sup>

Mariia became increasingly over-worked during this period, not least because she was combining her party activities with study at the Sorbonne, where she was working towards gaining a teaching diploma. She was well looked after by Vladimir, who insisted she take long walks around the city with him to help her relax, and by Nadezhda.<sup>167</sup> However, despite this care, Mariia fell ill with appendicitis shortly after successfully passing her exams in June. Although she confided in Mark about her illness, she asked him not to tell her mother and sister to save them from having to worry about the operation she would have to undergo.<sup>168</sup> The operation was a success, but Mariia's state of mind did not improve. She wrote to Mark: 'I don't know if I'm tired, but life somehow brings me little happiness. I've broken loose from the old, [...] boring rut and I don't know what to do with myself now.'<sup>169</sup> To help her recuperate, Vladimir and Nadezhda took Mariia to Bombon for a holiday, where she spent her time reading the newly-published protocols of the Fifth Party Congress and her brother's book *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*. Writing to her sister, she again expressed doubts about herself and her future. She admitted that she felt that her illnesses, first the typhus, which she had suffered in St Petersburg in the winter of 1907–1908, and then the appendicitis, had changed her: 'I am not now what I was before – it's as if I've become limp.'<sup>170</sup> Though Vladimir had asked her to stay in Paris for another year to help with the technical work of the party, Mariia decided to return to Russia. It was not an easy decision. Russia seemed 'grey' and 'boring', though she knew she would 'adjust somehow'.<sup>171</sup> Mariia added:

More than anything it's a pity to part with Volodia. I always loved him, but now we have somehow become especially close. He took incredibly good care of me during my illness – I could never have imagined that he was capable of this. Even now he is still very attentive.<sup>172</sup>

Mariia settled in Moscow and re-established contact with old revolutionary comrades, including the Krzhizhanovskii's. Mariia Aleksandrovna worried about her daughter's hectic work for the party during this time, writing to Anna: '[Mariia] is always running about [with work] and does not look after her health [...] Her lifestyle still worries me in another respect as well. If she fell ill now... while her health is poor and she has not recovered after her operation... I cannot think of this

without horror.<sup>173</sup> Mariia Aleksandrovna's reference to the danger of Mariia 'falling ill' was a code used by the Ul'ianovs and other revolutionaries to mean being arrested.<sup>174</sup> Mariia Aleksandrovna's fears were realised when her daughter was arrested briefly. However, Mariia's health was not adversely affected and she remained active. She went to Finland to work as a French tutor to a Russian family, then travelled with her mother to Stockholm to visit Vladimir, who had been attending the Eighth Congress of the Second International in Copenhagen.<sup>175</sup> It would be the last time Vladimir saw his mother before her death in 1916.

Anna's experiences of 1906–1909 differed to her sister's. Despite her important role in reporting on the situation in St Petersburg in 1905, Anna felt in retrospect that her involvement in the revolutionary movement had been limited because she had taken on the care of her mother, who was now in her seventies. Of the period 1904–1906, Anna wrote: 'I participated in the finance committee of the C[entral] C[ommittee], conducted correspondence [...and] organised addresses for *Vpered*. [...] I could not work entirely illegally because of my mother; for the most part I was the only one of her children who [stayed] with her.'<sup>176</sup>

Anna did carry out what party work she could. When Mark was exiled to Syzran for three years for his involvement in the railwaymen's strike of October 1905, Anna did not join him, but remained in St Petersburg, where she could continue to work for the revolutionary movement. She visited her husband several times, however, using one such trip in December 1906 to obtain illegal literature on the second Duma, including information about the first set of Social-Democratic candidates.<sup>177</sup> She also translated some propaganda material, including Otto Bauer's *The National Question and Social Democracy*.<sup>178</sup>

In January 1907, while travelling between Samara, where Mark was now living, and St Petersburg, she stopped in Moscow to distribute leaflets about the Bolsheviks' view on the second Duma. She was arrested for this and held for a month, before she returned to St Petersburg. Here she continued to help the Bolsheviks in their election campaign, distributing leaflets and making speeches to factory workers.<sup>179</sup> In the autumn of 1907, Anna went abroad to Paris, Geneva and Stockholm to help organise the party's archive and library.<sup>180</sup> These had been established by Bonch-Bruевич and others in 1904 to preserve party documents and to hold a central reserve of party literature for sending to Russia.<sup>181</sup> While abroad, Anna also tried to organise the publication of a three-volume collection of Lenin's works entitled *For Twelve Years*.<sup>182</sup>

In 1908, she moved to Moscow and devoted her time to correcting and arranging for the publication of her brother's book *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*, which outlined Vladimir's criticisms of Bogdanov's philosophical outlook.<sup>183</sup> Anna did support Vladimir's position, but she was also keen to persuade him to tone down his attacks in order to enable the book to pass the censors, but also simply to remove the more shocking elements of it. She wrote to him in November 1908:

I am reading your book (I've read almost half). The further [I get], the more interesting it is. In accordance with your instruction, I have changed "religious superstition" to "fideism" [...] In my opinion, it is necessary to reject more thoroughly all such [phrases], so that the book will not be censored [...] Then it is necessary to omit or soften some of the abuse. Really and truly, Volodek, you have too much of it, particularly in the "Victory of the Kadets" [section] [...]. Sometimes it is very accurate and powerful [...] There are many attacks on the philosophers, their gibberish, etc. [...] They are extremely harsh [...], but from your point of view they are consistent and understandable. But... *il ne font [sic] rien outrer* [there is no need to exaggerate anything] (I'm using one of your favourite sayings here), because such exaggerations only weaken [your argument], – I assure you [...] Then, on page 514... "well-worn sermons of platonic love"... ugh, even to write this down is unpleasant... You know, it is a really indecent phrase, – directly offensive to literature, [...and to...] your critique, which, without that phrase, is so strong and witty... [...] Don't spoil your book.<sup>184</sup>

Vladimir acquiesced to some of Anna's demands, but not others.<sup>185</sup> Despite the fact that Anna did not approve of her brother's phrasing, overall she agreed with his arguments and helped to distribute the book, arranging with Vladimir that she would take fifty copies to give to acquaintances in Moscow.<sup>186</sup>

This period of Anna's life highlights the difficulties she faced juggling her revolutionary and her domestic commitments, for she combined editing Vladimir's book with caring for Mariia Aleksandrovna. Vladimir was considerate about this writing:

Regarding the proofs, I earnestly ask you to rid yourself of them: it is absolutely inhuman to land them on you at such a time. [...] Hire some student [...] and please don't waste your attention on the correcting of proofs. Even without that it's hard for you at the moment.<sup>187</sup>

It is interesting to note that Vladimir did not suggest that Anna hire a nurse to help her care for Mariia Aleksandrovna. Although Anna initially resisted Vladimir's suggestions, perhaps because she wished to maintain at least one link with the revolutionary movement, she eventually passed on the work.<sup>188</sup>

During this period, Anna was also able to pursue her long-standing interest in children's welfare, which had first started when she worked as a teaching assistant at a primary school, before she enrolled at university.<sup>189</sup> An old family friend, Levitskii, remembered: 'Children in general and children's literature always attracted [Anna]: she not only translated, but also wrote children's stories.'<sup>190</sup> While caring for her mother in the mountains near Alupka in the Crimea in April 1909, Anna published two articles about the lot of children in capitalist society.<sup>191</sup> These protested against the use of child labour by capitalist countries and by Russia, and highlighted the problem of suicide amongst children of the working classes.<sup>192</sup>

In January 1910, a plenum of the Central Committee was held in Paris with the aim of ending the factionalism of the RSDRP. It was agreed that the Bolshevik centre and *Proletarii* would cease to operate, as would the Menshevik organ, *Golos sotsial-demokrata*. Vladimir wrote to Anna in February:

We have been having very 'stormy' times lately, but they have ended with an attempt at peace with the Mensheviks – yes, yes, strange as it may seem; we have closed down the factional newspaper and are trying harder to promote *unity*. We shall see whether it can be done.<sup>193</sup>

Vladimir's good intentions were soon forgotten as both sides failed to shut down their fractional operations and once again the party entered into a 'period of intense squabbling'.<sup>194</sup>

# 3

## From Saratov to February

Despite the 'squabbling' abroad, the period 1909–1912 was one of the most productive and successful periods of Ul'ianov revolutionary work in Russia. Anna, Mark and Mariia joined forces in the industrial town of Saratov to revive an RSDRP group on the brink of collapse and transformed it into one of the strongest Bolshevik committees in Russia.

According to a police report written in 1912, 'the last liquidation of the Saratov organisation of the RSDRP [of October 1909] [...] put an end to party activities of local social-democrats for almost one and a half years'.<sup>1</sup> Anna and Mark had moved to the town in August 1909 and so must have been aware of this police action. Despite the claim in the police report above, the presence of the Elizarovs meant that some political activities continued despite the police clampdown. From their arrival in Saratov, the police placed the Elizarovs under surveillance and noted that they were in contact with several prominent local revolutionary activists'.<sup>2</sup> Mariia arrived in Saratov in late 1910 and revolutionary activities in the town truly began to revive.<sup>3</sup>

In 1911, the Anna, Mark and Mariia began to work for a local, legal newspaper in Saratov called *Privolzhskaia gazeta* (*The Volga Region Newspaper*).<sup>4</sup> Initially, the newspaper had a Menshevik outlook, but the Bolsheviks worked hard to transform it into their own organ. For the newspaper, Mariia translated from German agitational pieces and short stories which highlighted the hard life of workers in capitalist countries, including *Father and Son* by Ernst Prestsang, *The Picture* by Oskar Viner and *A Page from the Life of an Outcast* by Robert Shveikhel.<sup>5</sup> Though the police were well aware of its Social-Democratic 'tendency', they could not find the 'necessary material' in the newspaper to make arrests or to shut it down permanently.<sup>6</sup> Despite initial financial problems and a lack of interest in the newspaper, *Privolzhskaia gazeta* did

become more popular, particularly once the editor had received permission from the local authorities to publish the newspaper twice daily, in over 3000 copies.<sup>7</sup>

*Privolzhskaia gazeta* survived for a year, but the arrest of two successive editors and a lack of funding eventually made it impossible to continue publishing the newspaper.<sup>8</sup> However, the newspaper was not the only vehicle through which revolutionary ideas were propagated in Saratov. By establishing correspondence links with other Social-Democratic groups in Russia, the Ul'ianovs were able to ensure that they received the legal Bolshevik newspaper *Zvezda (Star)*.<sup>9</sup> Simultaneously, the correspondence with Vladimir and Nadezhda which Anna and Mariia conducted intensified, for illegal literature could also be obtained from abroad. Vladimir wrote to his mother in January 1911: 'Nadia has written twice to Maniasha [in invisible ink] and will write today for the third time. Has Maniasha received the letters?'<sup>10</sup> The police noted in May 1912 that the Ul'ianovs were receiving letters from the 'Leninist centre abroad'.<sup>11</sup>

Anna helped Mariia in her endeavours, visiting Vladimir and Nadezhda in Paris in the summer of 1911, with the aim, it seems, of procuring agitational materials.<sup>12</sup> In what I think is a coded message about the sending of such material from Paris, Anna wrote to Mariia:

Regarding those pedagogical books [agitational materials?], about which you asked Nadia, she asks me to tell you that nothing interesting has appeared on the literary horizon and that she is expecting a new bibliographical directory [new materials?] in a few days. She hopes that then she will be able to give you instructions. How are your lessons [study groups?] going? Obviously the Saratov public will have to postpone their rehearsals (*repetirovanie*) until the exams – that is more advantageous [It would be better to wait for instructions before you launch the next campaign?].<sup>13</sup>

Anna and Mark returned from Paris with news that Vladimir was planning to organise a Sixth Party Conference. Despite the fact that a resolution had been made in January 1910 to unite the RSDRP for once and for all, factional activities had not ceased, and Vladimir hoped that at this next conference there would be a Bolshevik majority. In Saratov, the Ul'ianovs' revolutionary group had taken on a distinctly Bolshevik character and when the Sixth Party Conference was convened in Prague in January 1912, a Bolshevik representative from the town attended.<sup>14</sup> By this time even the police were aware of how



*Figure 1* Ul'ianov family, 1879

From left to right, standing: Ol'ga, Aleksandr, Anna

From left to right, sitting: Mariia Aleksandrovna with Mariia Il'inichna on her lap, Dmitrii, Il'ia Nikolaevich, Vladimir



the Ul'ianov family network ensured that Vladimir gained support within the party. Reporting the fact that Mariia had sent a representative to the Prague conference, the police noted that 'the organiser of the conference was Lenin – her brother'.<sup>15</sup>

More generally, Mariia helped the Saratov Bolshevik group start up workers' study circles in factories and organise a series of demonstrations and mass meetings.<sup>16</sup> Amongst her successes was a strike called in protest at the massacre of striking workers at the Lena gold mine and the celebration of 1 May.<sup>17</sup> Both sisters supported the election campaigns of the Bolshevik candidates for the fourth Duma at party and worker meetings.<sup>18</sup>

That the police labelled the Saratov Bolshevik group 'insignificant' in comparison to the main Menshevik organisation in the area highlights just how fragile the Bolsheviks' position in the underground movement was.<sup>19</sup> Indeed, it was this 'insignificant group' in Saratov that in retrospect was seen as one of the 'strongest and most active' in Russia at that time.<sup>20</sup> Mariia's leadership of the group was absolutely crucial in achieving this status and the police recognised her role.<sup>21</sup> Of her activities in Saratov in the spring of 1912, the police reported the following:

The central figure of the group is Mariia Il'inichna, who is living in Saratov with her sister Anna, Mark Timofeevich Elizarov's wife, and who has participated actively in *Privolzhskaia gazeta* since it was published. Her sister Elizarova and the latter's husband, who have worked actively in revolutionary organisations of both capitals since 1905, also joined in the founding of the group, the publishing of the afore-mentioned newspaper and, doubtlessly, are the closest helpers of Ul'ianova in the latter's attempts to form a permanent illegal organisation of the RSDRP in Saratov.<sup>22</sup>

Just as in 1900, the police viewed the Ul'ianovs as a revolutionary family and were well aware of the close co-operation between its members.

This was, in fact, a period of change in the personal lives of the Ul'ianovs. Mariia formed a strong friendship with a local Bolshevik activist, Stanislav Stanislavovich Krzhizhanovskii. Mariia's biographer, Kunetskaia, coyly writes: 'His acquaintance with Mariia Il'inichna was based officially on service [to the party], although both really knew a lot about each other.'<sup>23</sup> Kunetskaia tries to underplay this relationship, suggesting firstly that Stanislav simply reminded Mariia of her brother because his party code-name was Vladimir, and secondly by implying



*Figure 2* From left to right: Mark Timofeevich Elizarov (Anna's husband), Mariia Aleksandrovna, Dmitrii, and Mariia, 1902



*Figure 3* Anna and Mariia in Saratov, 1912

that Mariia's feelings for Krzhizhanovskii were not reciprocated.<sup>24</sup> Others, however, have asserted that Mariia had an affair with Krzhizhanovskii.<sup>25</sup>

Anna's family life changed dramatically while she lived in Saratov. She and Mark became acquainted with the Lozgachev family. The youngest son of the family, Georgii Iakovlevich or Gora, was heralded as a prodigy in the local press for learning to read at a very young age and in June 1911, Mark and Anna visited the family and met the five year old, hoping to adopt and raise him.<sup>26</sup> Initially the Lozgachevs turned down the Elizarovs' offer, but they did allow Gora and his elder sister to visit Anna and Mark regularly. For two years, the Elizarovs made efforts to gain the consent of the Lozgachevs to adopt Gora and to win the child's affection.

During this period, their revolutionary activities were hidden successfully from the Lozgachevs, even when Anna and Mariia were both arrested during a police campaign against the revolutionaries in Saratov on 7 May 1912. Mark only escaped arrest because he was away travelling on business and Mariia Aleksandrovna wrote to him warning him not to return to Saratov.<sup>27</sup> Anna was released fairly soon afterwards, but Mariia was kept in prison longer and then exiled to Vologda. Gora was told that Mariia had gone away on business and was encouraged to write to her.

Anna corresponded with her sister as well, sending on books, clothes and food that she needed, as well as revolutionary literature for use in her party work in Vologda.<sup>28</sup> She provided the same help to Vladimir and Nadezhda, with the latter regularly sending letters to Anna thanking her for all the food and gift parcels she sent, which made their lives in European exile 'so luxurious'.<sup>29</sup> At this point Anna was also solely responsible for taking care of her mother. Mark was often away from home as he had become the chief inspector of the Russian transport insurance society, Salamandra, and, as Gora put it, lived 'on wheels', travelling the country.<sup>30</sup> On one occasion Anna admitted to her sister: 'I haven't written to you lately because I've been so caught up with a lot of domestic nonsense.'<sup>31</sup> However, at other times, household chores and looking after her family did not interfere with Anna's revolutionary work. Indeed, her determination to continue with her underground activities was one of the key factors which made Anna begin to doubt if adopting Gora was a good idea. Another was her mother's hostility to the plan.

The matter came to a head as Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna made plans to go to the Crimea to visit Dmitrii, who was working there as a

doctor while also operating as a Bolshevik agent. On 8 February 1913, Anna wrote to Mark who was in Omsk on business:

At first, Mamochka [mother] stood decidedly against the question of a trip to the Crimea with [Gora]. I didn't begin to object especially and fell silent. Then two days later, she declared that she did not want me to do anything for her sake that was against my own wishes [...]

I knew that that is how it would be. Her character has not changed, everything is as it was. Together with this, it seems that she has begun to get on better with him. So outwardly, the obstacles are falling [away], but inwardly it's as if they are growing, that is, the further [it goes], the more it seems to me that it doesn't follow for me to do this, that for the child it is important to help him study, but to take him with me, take him from his family – really I will be doing that for myself. And I cannot be sure that in all respects it will be better for him... My life is turning out terribly uncertainly, the other so strongly takes up me and my time... <sup>32</sup>

Anna turned to her sister for advice, but Mariia replied that the 'question of whether to take [Gora] or not, was so difficult' that she was 'afraid to advise anything'.<sup>33</sup> She worried that caring for Gora would tire Anna out and pointed out that Mark would not be able to help her, given the fact that his work took him away from home so much.<sup>34</sup>

In the end, Anna could not bring herself to take Gora with her, fearing that he did not want to leave his family and that she could not care properly for him given her responsibilities at home, caring for her mother, and to 'the other', to the revolutionary movement. However, she regretted her decision immediately, writing to her husband:

All the time, I don't feel quite myself because I did not take Gora with me [...] I know that you will be saying that I am always wise after the event [...] but... It was all too complicated and the main thing was I was so tired [...] in Saratov that I quite stopped relying on my strength and was afraid of new burdens and although I was glad of him as before, he was tiring me out.<sup>35</sup>

Anna worried that the incident had exposed the 'deficiencies of her character' and asked Mark not to tell anyone about her 'madness'.<sup>36</sup> Realising that she had made a mistake and reassured by the fact that her mother seemed to have had a change of heart on the issue, Anna asked her husband to go to Saratov on his way to St Petersburg and

fetch Gora. This he did and, having arranged the official adoption, he sent Gora to Feodosiia to join Anna and her mother. From there, the three went to Vologda where Mariia was in exile.

Despite being under police surveillance in Vologda, Mariia had immediately joined the local RSDRP group and begun to reinvigorate its work. One of Mariia's fellow exiles, S.V. Borisov, remembered how Mariia quickly became 'the centre of the community of exiles and not only amongst Bolsheviks, but also other exiles' and that her arrival 'immediately enlivened and cheered up' everyone.<sup>37</sup> More importantly she was up-to-date with all 'current affairs and with political life' and she represented a direct link to Lenin.<sup>38</sup> Mariia also maintained contact with other exiled members of the Saratov Bolsheviks, including Stanislav Krzhizhanovskii, who had been sent to Velikii Ustiug, a town in the very far north of Russia.<sup>39</sup>

Borisov described how Mariia's 'advice and observations really helped' him in his political activities with railway workers in the Vologda area.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, some claim that it was Mariia who founded and led the railwaymen's circle.<sup>41</sup> Her flat became a centre for Bolshevik comrades and Mariia wielded great influence on their activities in Vologda. Borisov wrote: 'If we conducted any kind of work, for example, propaganda [or] agitation amongst local workers and white-collar workers, then we always made use of [Mariia's] advice and instructions.'<sup>42</sup> The variety and number of illegal newspapers which were found by the police during a search of Mariia's flat in Vologda in August 1914 reveal how useful Mariia would have been to revolutionaries in the area as a source of information and revolutionary literature. Mariia was found to be in possession of issues of *Nasha Zaria* (*Our Dawn*), *Prosveshchenie* (*Enlightenment*), *Rabotnitsa* (*Woman Worker*) and *Pravda* (*Truth*).<sup>43</sup>

Anna, Mariia Aleksandrovna and Gora arrived in Vologda in June 1913. It was during this period that Gora became fully acquainted with his adoptive family's revolutionary activities. He experienced a night-time police raid and met a number of Mariia's comrades, including Vatslav Vatslavovich Vorovskii, Isidor Evstigneevich Liubimov, Petr Antonovich Zalutskii and Vladimir Pavlovich Miliutin. As he put it: 'How could I imagine then, that in only several years' time one of them would be a world famous diplomat, another a great party worker, and two – soviet ministers – people's commissars!'<sup>44</sup>

## New projects

By now Gora was a beloved part of the Ul'ianov family and he was particularly taken with Mariia. Anna, however, wanted to move to

St Petersburg and, despite her fears that she would not be able to cope with Gora on her own, she left her sister and mother in Vologda later that summer. She also turned down her husband's invitation that she and Gora move to Siberia to live with him, preferring instead to settle in the capital and return to party work (Mark joined them there in the summer of 1914). A number of party members were based in St Petersburg at this time, including P.F. Kudelli, K.N. Samoilova, A.P. Skliarenko and the Bonch-Bruевичes. Besides taking on the usual activities of correspondence and organisation, Anna also worked for *Pravda* and *Prosveshchenie*. Both were established as legal Bolshevik organs in 1912, the former was a daily newspaper which replaced *Zvezda*, while the latter was a monthly journal.<sup>45</sup> Anna worked as secretary to the editorial board of *Prosveshchenie* from the autumn of 1913, working alongside M.S. Ol'minskii, as well as cooperating with contributors working abroad, including Lenin, Krupskaya, N.I. Bukharin and A.G. Shliapnikov.<sup>46</sup> Perhaps the best example of Anna's newspaper work, however, is her contribution to *Rabotnitsa*, the Bolsheviks' first publication aimed specifically at women workers in Russia, not least because it gives a clear insight into her approach to revolutionary activity and her political beliefs.<sup>47</sup>

Working from abroad, it was Inessa Armand who led the efforts to establish *Rabotnitsa*, while Anna was chosen to help found the newspaper in Russia and to join the editorial board there.<sup>48</sup> Only one woman on the board, Kudelli, had played a prominent role in agitating for women's rights until this point. Like the three other editors, Samoilova, E.F. Rozmirovich, and L.R. Menzhinskaia, Anna was probably recruited because of her skills and experience as a professional revolutionary and a newspaper worker.<sup>49</sup> This view is supported by the fact that most of Anna's work as the editor of *Rabotnitsa* involved coordinating the practical aspects of its publication. Anna raised funds, which were desperately short, found a printing press, corresponded with the editorial board abroad, edited and contributed to the newspaper's contents, and distributed the editions.<sup>50</sup>

Anna was not entirely inexperienced in agitating amongst women. For example, A.N. Grigor'eva-Alekseeva remembered 'endlessly running to Anna Il'inichna Elizarova' for help in preparing a speech on 'Women's Work in Industry' for International Women's Day in 1913, before *Rabotnitsa* had been established.<sup>51</sup> However, initially Anna was rather ambivalent towards the project of founding a separate women's newspaper. Ever the pragmatist and influenced by the 'opinion of the majority of her male comrades' who felt that there was little enough

money for *Pravda*, Anna worried that running *Rabotnitsa* was simply not feasible.<sup>52</sup> She argued that it would be better if *Pravda* included a weekly supplement for women workers.<sup>53</sup>

Despite Anna's concerns, the production of *Rabotnitsa* went ahead with the first edition to be issued on International Women's Day, 1914. However, the police raided the last editorial meeting before publication, despite having given permission for it to go ahead, and arrested the entire editorial board. Only Anna escaped: she had been late for the meeting.

This interference by the authorities before *Rabotnitsa* had even been published meant that many of the first practical arrangements Anna had made were destroyed and had to be reorganised. Faced with having to issue the newspaper single-handedly, Anna in later years admitted that she did not hold out much hope for *Rabotnitsa* ever to succeed. She wrote: 'Apart from all the difficulties which in themselves seemed insurmountable [...] there was [...] also] the fact that at first I was perhaps less animated by this work than the rest of the editorial board.'<sup>54</sup>

Yet, Anna worked conscientiously as the editor of *Rabotnitsa*. Luckily most of the articles were already lodged with the printing press and with the help of another journal with which she had connections, Anna managed to get 12,000 copies of *Rabotnitsa* printed and distributed.<sup>55</sup> Regardless of the pressure from the authorities, including the censors, the difficulty of conducting the long-distance and often slow correspondence with the editorial board abroad, and the fact that the Russian editors who had been arrested had been exiled from the capital and could only give her sporadic help, Anna was able to get seven issues printed between 23 February and 26 June, though some were confiscated by the police.<sup>56</sup> They were issued fortnightly (except for the last edition), were sixteen pages long and were either given away in factories or sold for four, rising to five, kopecks.<sup>57</sup> The contents of the journal had a similar pattern in each edition: one or two theoretical articles, then another two or more of a more agitational nature relating to women's working conditions and lives, followed by poems and stories by and about women, and finally a correspondence section featuring letters and writing by *Rabotnitsa's* readership.<sup>58</sup> Anna published one of her own short stories, *From a Girl's Life*, which she had written while at university.<sup>59</sup> It explored the socialisation of girls and boys, highlighting the way in which a girl's early development was limited by household duties and expectations about proper behaviour for young women.<sup>60</sup>

In later years Anna recalled feeling a change of heart about the journal as she received a flood of positive responses from the newspaper's readers. Anna was overwhelmed by 'the genuine and cheerful tone' of the letters, the 'simple, naïve lines' which were filled with 'such touching joy, such indestructible belief in the success of our work, such preparedness for sacrifice'.<sup>61</sup> The newspaper also inspired other revolutionaries. Anna's biographer, E. Ia. Drabkina remembered, as a twelve year old girl, delivering a letter to Anna from her mother, Feodosiia Il'inichna, who was an experienced Bolshevik and had been imprisoned for her activities. Written on behalf of all the political prisoners in the women's prison in St Petersburg, it said: '[The prisoners] send warm greetings to our journal *Rabotnitsa*, which expresses our needs.'<sup>62</sup> Anna was thrilled to receive it. Drabkina remembered how Anna 'rejoiced, [...] smiled, kissed her on both cheeks' and brought her 'tea with jam' to drink.<sup>63</sup>

This awareness of an enthusiastic and expectant readership, as well as sensitivity to its needs, informed Anna's approach to editing the journal. As she put it:

The whole of the second edition [...], with the exception of the article by Stal' [on 'The Women's Socialist Movement in Western Europe'], was popular and agitational in character. Partly lessons from *Pravda*, partly women's responses to the first edition, which consistently emphasised that the fiction item by comrade Kudelli enjoyed the biggest success, induced us to pursue the line of a more popular organ for the masses.<sup>64</sup>

Anna's aim of reaching even the 'least conscious women' meant that she regularly sacrificed theoretical and abstract articles sent by Armand, L.N. Stal' and Krupskaiia, for poetry, short stories and correspondence from women workers.<sup>65</sup> However, this approach often put Anna and the Russian editorial board at odds with the editors abroad, who wanted 'a more serious organ of more propagandist character'.<sup>66</sup> In fact, it was Nadezhda who forwarded the international editorials board's criticisms of the newspaper to Anna and it is indicative of the women's ability to separate their professional and personal relationship that though Anna defended herself against their 'severe' complaints, she still wished Nadezhda 'health and more health' in closing.<sup>67</sup> Nonetheless, Anna remained defiant about her decision, writing in 1923 that the editorial board abroad



was too detached from the women workers in Russia and did not understand their needs. She added:

Women workers wanted their own mass organ, their own *Pravda*. And the responses from those with whom I met were unanimous: they liked the second edition more than the first, as it was more lively and understandable. This consideration compelled us to retain the fiction section, against which the editorial board abroad also objected.<sup>68</sup>

Anna's work for *Rabotnitsa* was also controversial with the émigré editorial board because she was willing to co-operate with Mensheviks. Her colleague Kudelli was also happy to work with Mensheviks and wanted Kollontai to contribute to the newspaper.<sup>69</sup> Samoilova in contrast was opposed to this and Armand asserted that there were 'conciliators or worse' on the Russian editorial board.<sup>70</sup>

However, Anna's approach reaped rewards. Readers' responses were positive and Anna was able to establish herself, briefly, as a women's activist. Indeed, she was invited to join the committee set up to organise the Social-Democratic International Women's Conference planned for August 1914. Anna could not join the group, and in the end the outbreak of the war prevented the conference from going ahead.<sup>71</sup> *Rabotnitsa* was also closed down by the authorities at this time, preventing Anna's controversial decisions earning her any more rebukes from abroad. Yet Anna could still look back proudly on her work for *Rabotnitsa* and how influential the newspaper had been in raising the political consciousness of Russian women.<sup>72</sup>

*Prosveshchenie* was also closed down when the war started. Remembering her work for the journal in later years, Anna wrote:

*Prosveshchenie* was issued in the lively and feverish time of the 'epoch of *Zvezda* and *Pravda*', as their close ideological comrade-in-arms. We succeeded in propagating Il'ich's views in his articles and articles by his followers [...] We [also] gained more and more interest and sympathy from comrade workers, who, like our comrades in exiles, sent articles, poetry and stories to us.<sup>73</sup>

It is clear from the above that although *Prosveshchenie* was intended as a vehicle for the propagation of Bolshevik theory, the content, like that of *Rabotnitsa*'s, soon included creative works and contributions from workers. Vladimir was determined that *Prosveshchenie* should not be closed down permanently and in November 1914, wrote to Anna:

'Answer me as quickly as possible about how matters stand with the journal [*Prosveshchenie*]. Is there any possibility of starting it? If so, when?'<sup>74</sup> Efforts were made to revive *Prosveshchenie* and Anna's correspondence to her sister at this time shows that she was aware of the urgency of the matter, adding in one letter: 'Volodia simply thirsts for a journal and a newspaper of our own.'<sup>75</sup> It was not until the autumn of 1917, however, that *Prosveshchenie* was re-launched, issuing one edition, in which Lenin's works 'Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?' and 'Concerning a Revision of the Party Programme' were published.

Despite cooperating on this project, this was a period of tension between Anna and Vladimir. It had begun even before the war with the difficulties inherent in communicating by post causing friction. In January 1914, Anna complained to Vladimir: 'I am writing to you [...] for the second time. Apart from that, I sent a letter [...] for Christmas. Why have you not answered? Have you really not received it? You don't write to me at all, but claim that I don't write enough.'<sup>76</sup> In April of the same year, Anna wrote to Vladimir: 'Karl Karlovich [Mariia] is distressed that you haven't written for ages, and even, apparently, haven't sent regards. He is fretting because of this.'<sup>77</sup> Vladimir complained to Mariia in one letter: 'It is very difficult in our situation [...] to carry on the correspondence one would like.'<sup>78</sup>

After the war started, tensions between Vladimir and Anna also emerged over questions of Bolshevik policy towards the conflict and of campaign strategy in Russia. In April 1915, Vladimir wanted to make clear the Bolsheviks' opposition to the war (and their differences with the Mensheviks) by printing this message through a legal publishing house. However, Anna warned Vladimir against this course because it was unwise to make it clear that a legal organisation had connections with an illegal one.<sup>79</sup> She also urged Vladimir to remember that whatever he wrote would have to pass the censors. Though she argued that the newspaper 'must be silent' about the war, she reassured her brother that 'the very silence would be eloquent'.<sup>80</sup> In response to what must have been the harsh tone of her brother's letters, she added: 'You are terrorising me. I am afraid of any kind of careless expression.'<sup>81</sup>

Later that year, Anna was able to report some positive news, including 'a great and excellent victory' over the Mensheviks, in which the Bolsheviks successfully brought about a boycott of the local War-Industry Committee.<sup>82</sup> These committees were established by Russian industrialists to help coordinate the war economy. Worker representatives were to be included on the committees from July 1915, but while Mensheviks supported this initiative, the Bolsheviks did not. They

launched a campaign which ensured that when worker representatives were elected in September, the majority of those chosen declared themselves in favour of a boycott and refused to join.<sup>83</sup> The Bolsheviks were also successful in calling a strike at the Putilov factory, in which more than 21,000 workers participated.<sup>84</sup>

By 1916, the situation was becoming more difficult. Due to arrests, Anna was one of the last remaining members of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee in the now named Petrograd. With K.M. Shvedchikov and Shliapnikov's help, Anna had to make all the decisions of the Bureau at that time, as well as take responsibility for the other duties of 'correspondence, fundraising, arranging transport, relations with the P[etrograd] C[ommittee] and, if possible, with Moscow and various provincial towns'.<sup>85</sup>

Anna did what she could to keep the work of the Bureau going. She made repeated requests for illegal literature, particularly popular, accessible material, to be sent to the Bureau from abroad, since this would enable agitation amongst workers to continue and generate income for the group, if the literature could be sold. However, very little was being sent to Petrograd from abroad.<sup>86</sup> Often the Russian Central Committee received only one copy of a journal, which prevented them from distributing or selling it. On top of this, Lenin's argument that the proletariat should turn the war into a civil war was causing consternation amongst the Petrograd Bolsheviks. In March 1916, Anna wrote to her brother: 'Did you receive the letter, in which we asked you to write a popular article about the "civil war" slogan, which is incomprehensible to many? Even writers like Boris Avilov contest the feasibility of putting forward such a slogan.'<sup>87</sup>

In the meantime, Anna took a pragmatic approach to the situation and decided to distribute the anti-war journal *Kommunist*, despite the fact that Vladimir had broken relations with the newspaper's editorial board over the content of first (and only) edition. Although Anna received a 'scolding' from Vladimir for this, she was adamant that her decision had been the correct one.<sup>88</sup> She argued it was worth distributing the journal because it 'strongly lifted the mood and helped to raise money'.<sup>89</sup>

Another dispute arose between brother and sister over Vladimir's policy that the RSDRP candidates for the Third and Fourth Duma should split into separate, independent Bolshevik and Menshevik factions, thus allowing the Bolshevik representatives to distance themselves from the Liquidationists' call to end underground operations in favour of work within the bounds of legality. Although the split had been made official before the Third Duma, it had been resisted by both Menshevik and Bolshevik candidates, as well as worker voters, in

Russia and had only been put into effect during the Fourth Duma.<sup>90</sup> Anna's opposition to this policy infuriated Vladimir and he wrote a vehement letter to Shliapnikov criticising his sister:

As regards James [Anna], he never understood politics and was always against the split. James is a wonderful person, but *on these subjects* his judgements are profoundly wrong [...] In Russia (and now in the new International too) the question of a split is *fundamental*. Any compromise *here* would be a crime. I know well how many good people (James [Anna], Galiorka [M.S. Ol'minskii], the Petrograd friends among the intellectuals) were *against* the split in the Duma fraction. All of them were 1000 times wrong. The split was essential. And the split with *Chkheidze and Co.* [the Menshevik deputies in the Fourth Duma] now, too, is *absolutely* essential. All who waver on this subject are *enemies* of the proletariat, and we must be *uncompromising* with them.<sup>91</sup>

In this letter, Vladimir's description of Anna as a 'wonderful person' is the only indication that the two had a personal relationship. Otherwise he clearly saw her as a fellow revolutionary, and one with whom he was prepared to be 'uncompromising'. It is also obvious from the letter that Anna had made her objections to the split clear to Vladimir. Like her brother she was not prepared to let her family connection influence her political judgement. What is important is that though the two disagreed politically, their co-operation and correspondence did not cease, and it was this that made the Ul'ianov network so strong.

Vladimir continued to grumble about James the 'conciliator', but he still turned to her help with contacts in Russia.<sup>92</sup> In July 1916 he asked Anna to find out if P. Riabovskii was an agent provocateur before he would agree to submit an article to his journal.<sup>93</sup> And Vladimir's frantic response when Anna was arrested in July highlights how much he depended on her, despite their disagreements:

The removal of James [Anna] makes the situation critical (and I earnestly ask you not to say one word about this removal to a *single* person abroad; you cannot imagine how dangerous in *all* respects is gossip abroad about these subjects and *in connection* with such events) [...] The elimination of James makes the situation critical and poses again a series of questions about the general work plan [...] The most pressing question now is the weakness of links



*Figure 4* Mariia with Vladimir, who is in a wheelchair, 1923

between us and the leaders of the workers in Russia!! There is no correspondence!! There is no one apart from James, and now he's gone!! We cannot go on like that. We *cannot* organise either the publication of leaflets or transport, either agreement about manifestos or sending over their drafts etc. etc. without *regular* secret correspondence. That is the crux of the matter!<sup>94</sup>

Mariia faced the same challenges as her sister. Released from exile in Vologda, she moved to Moscow in the autumn of 1914 and joined the party committee there. Police pressure meant that there were very few revolutionaries to operate for the RSDRP in the city.<sup>95</sup> The police had in fact followed Mariia, as the 'central figure' of the Vologda Bolsheviks, back to Moscow after her release and her arrival in the city was noted.<sup>96</sup> They were well aware that Mariia was meeting 'local Social-Democrats', who included her old comrade Zinaida Krzhizhanovskaia, and that she was 'acquaint[ing] them with Lenin's latest theses'.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, it became clear that Mariia was too well known a figure to successfully conduct revolutionary activities in Moscow, so she decided to become a nurse at the front to escape increasingly intense police surveillance.<sup>98</sup> She was posted to the South-Western front, which provided Mariia with the opportunity to meet briefly with Stanislav Krzhizhanovskii, who had volunteered for the army to show solidarity with the soldiers.<sup>99</sup> Mariia returned to Moscow in the summer of 1915 and though the two continued to correspond, it seems that their relationship remained platonic. In the only letter that appears romantic, written as it was on flowery notepaper, Stanislav apologised for 'the unusual appearance' of his letter, explaining that paper was hard to come by.<sup>100</sup> Anna's comment in one letter that Mariia should visit Stanislav though she would 'regret it', seems to imply that Mariia's feelings for Stanislav were not reciprocated.<sup>101</sup>

However, Mariia continued to make plans to visit Stanislav and both Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna took an interest in her efforts and in Krzhizhanovskii himself.<sup>102</sup> Anna was horrified to hear that Stanislav had sought a transfer to the southern front, writing to her sister:

Why does St[anislav] want [to go] to the Caucasian front? [...] Pass on to him my greetings and surprise that he is such a warrior: [...] he flew from Vologda to the war and now [he flies] to the very heat [of battle] [...] Pass on to him from me, that I don't understand: such an interesting time is now beginning, such wide prospects are

opening up, – people with well known qualities are more than valuable, and they are in small numbers now, more than ever.<sup>103</sup>

Anna asked Mariia to try to persuade him to ask for a transfer to a medical unit so that he would not have to fight in the Caucasus where he was likely to catch malaria, adding that he should ‘throw away [his] false scrupulousness’.<sup>104</sup>

In the end, Mariia did not visit Stanislav, but continued to work in Moscow, where the local Bolshevik committee had been decimated by arrests and was in desperate need of party agents. The group’s printing press had also been confiscated and Mariia and her few colleagues were reduced to re-typing in multiple copies illegal literature received from abroad so as to be able to distribute it.<sup>105</sup> In a letter to Vladimir, Mariia outlined the aims of the Moscow Bolsheviks, which included providing political leadership to the various groups of factory workers who were on strike in the city, especially since the strikers were not using any ‘political slogans’.<sup>106</sup> The group also wanted to establish a full-scale, properly elected Moscow committee, which would be able to draw up an official political platform. These aims had not yet been achieved, for too many revolutionaries had been arrested, nonetheless, the Committee did issue a proclamation against the war and were circulating Lenin’s latest writings.<sup>107</sup>

In the summer of 1916, Mariia left Moscow for Petrograd to visit her mother, who was dying. Mariia Aleksandrovna passed away on 12 July. On 21 July, shortly after the funeral, the police raided the Elizarovs’ home and arrested Anna, who, they noted in their report, played ‘a distinguished role amongst the Leninists’.<sup>108</sup> Mariia continued to live with Mark, sharing the care of Gora, in what was not always a happy arrangement. Gora remembered Mariia having ‘fits of hot-temper and irritability’ and arguing with Mark over her childcare responsibilities.<sup>109</sup> She was, however, careful to protect her sister from unnecessary worry, reassuring her in a letter that she, Mark and Gora were getting on well at home.<sup>110</sup> When possible, Mark would take Gora to the prison to see Anna and on one such visit, Gora proved his worth as a young revolutionary, for Anna was able to hide a letter to her husband in his clothes as she made a show of fastening up her son’s coat.<sup>111</sup>

Anna was released from prison in October and, despite being subject to regular police searches at the flat, she, Mariia and Mark continued their revolutionary activities in the now revived Russian Bureau of the Central Committee. On 20 February 1917, Anna was arrested once more.<sup>112</sup> As

always, Anna did not cease her revolutionary activities while in prison and began agitating amongst her fellow prisoners to boost morale. A Ukrainian woman recalled tapping<sup>113</sup> a long conversation with Anna between their cells and Anna encouraging her to sing songs from her homeland to prove to their 'enemies' that they were 'cheerful and sure of a victory soon'.<sup>114</sup> Anna's words were prophetic, for on 23 February, International Women's Day, riots broke out in Petrograd. The unrest quickly developed into a full-scale revolution and by the beginning of March the Tsar had been overthrown. A few days later, Anna arrived back at the front door of her flat, laughing as she told Gora, Mark and Mariia that she had been freed by the people.<sup>115</sup>

## A revolutionary year

Both sisters acted quickly to help the Bolsheviks exploit the revolutionary situation. They began to work for the re-established *Rabotnitsa*, and on 8 March they were officially co-opted into the Russian Bureau of the RSDRP's Central Committee, alongside Ol'minskii, Stasova and Shliapnikov. Stalin became a member of the Bureau on 12 March.<sup>116</sup> Anna and Mariia's skills as correspondents would be invaluable for the Bureau, for it had been resolved that its main aims were to improve its links with party organisations, to coordinate its work with the Central Committee abroad, as well as with leftist groups in the international socialist movement, and finally, to increase the Bureau's links with the provinces. On the 18 March the Bureau changed the first clause of its regulations. This was the clause that defined a member of the RSDRP, which had caused such disputes at the Second Party Congress. The Bureau changed its wording from that of the Mensheviks to Lenin's, that is from a member being someone who 'participated' in the party to someone who 'recognised' the party.<sup>117</sup> This was a significant change, which made clear the Bureau's support for Lenin, and one suspects it was made with the agreement, if not under the influence, of Mariia and Anna. On 22 March the Bureau made its position on the revolutionary situation clear, resolving that the Provisional Government was incapable of serving the revolution and that effort should be concentrated on strengthening the Soviets, which were the 'embryos of the new power'.<sup>118</sup> These resolutions brought the Bureau's position very close to the programme Lenin would announce in April.<sup>119</sup>



Anna and Mariia also joined *Pravda* and contributed a long article about the events of February to the first edition. They wrote:

How quickly everything has come to pass! Like a story, like a fantasy – beautiful and solemn. In one day more has been lived through, than, at any other time, would be experienced in a year, and in a few days the masses have rid us of the past.<sup>120</sup>

What followed was a detailed description of the events in all parts of St Petersburg, from International Women's Day to 5 March. On 13 March, Mariia's role in the editorial board was formalised, alongside Ol'minskii and Stalin. At this meeting, the editorial board agreed that there were a variety of problems with the content of *Pravda*. There was a lack of theoretical articles and the information printed was often inaccurate. Overall the newspaper was too agitational in character and did not provide enough political leadership as befitted the 'central organ of the party'.<sup>121</sup> The new members of the editorial board decided it was their duty to 'uphold' the party's programme in the newspaper, as well as eliminate the 'light tone' of its content.<sup>122</sup>

Mariia's articles for the newspaper were mainly devoted to highlighting the workers' efforts to exploit the new freedom of speech and of the press, and to express their views of the revolution. She wrote about the organ of the Iaroslavl' Soviet of Workers' Deputies, *Trud i bor'ba* (*Work and Struggle*), and about the workers' press in the provinces.<sup>123</sup> However, Mariia's attentions were soon diverted from writing articles for the newspaper to secretarial work, in particular, to conducting meetings with the many soldiers and workers who came to *Pravda's* offices. With Anna's help, she also gathered, and edited for publication, letters sent from the front and from factories in other towns.<sup>124</sup> After her article on 5 March, Anna contributed only one other to *Pravda*. It was a short piece in memory of A.P. Skliarenko who had died in 1916 and who had been one of the 'first Russian Social-Democrats', as well as one of the Ul'ianovs' revolutionary comrades in Samara.<sup>125</sup>

Anna and Mariia's co-operation with *Pravda* is difficult to reconcile with their close involvement with the Bureau of the Central Committee, for the two organisations held very different opinions about how the party should deal with the revolutionary situation. *Pravda* took a conciliatory approach towards the Provisional Government and supported the continuation of the war effort in order to defend Russia.<sup>126</sup> It also refused to publish four out of five of Lenin's *Letters from Afar* in which he laid out his view of the situation in Russia. Although Anna and Mariia wrote

little for the newspaper and even less that expressed their views on the war, their work for *Pravda* may have made them seem complicit in what Lenin saw as the newspaper's betrayal of the Bolsheviks' opposition to the war. In one article, Mariia had endorsed a pamphlet entitled *The Russian Revolution and War*, by Borisov and Kozlovskii, which advocated continuing a defencist war if Russia, and the freedoms gained by the revolution, were threatened.<sup>127</sup>

If indeed their membership of *Pravda* and not of the Bureau was the truest reflection of their views, they were not the only Bolsheviks to disagree with Lenin. Many viewed his proposals as being the result of his long absence from Russia and his lack of understanding of the situation in the country.<sup>128</sup> However, it seems from Anna's letters to Vladimir from 1916 that at that time she was most loyal to the Bureau and had no sympathies for the Petersburg Committee, some of whose members would form the *Pravda* group of 1917 and whose policies already diverged from Lenin's. Nonetheless, the weak state of the Bureau meant that Anna was prepared to strengthen links with the Petersburg Committee for practical purposes.<sup>129</sup> Anna was always keen to avoid splits and even to improve co-operation between party organisations and groups; perhaps being a member of various groups was her way of trying to bridge the gap between them.<sup>130</sup> Anna and Mariia's co-operation with *Pravda* in 1917 can also perhaps be put down to practicalities. Both were always keen to reach the masses, and *Pravda* was the most effective means for Bolsheviks to do that in 1917.

On 2 April, Anna and Mariia received a telegram from Vladimir, which said: 'Arriving Monday 11pm. Inform *Pravda*.'<sup>131</sup> Mariia passed on the message and both sisters travelled to Beloostrov station outside Petrograd to join him on the train.<sup>132</sup> This provided the Ul'ianovs with a brief opportunity to bring each other up-to-date with their news and to discuss Vladimir's itinerary once he arrived in the capital. After Vladimir had been officially greeted and had given his speech at Matylda Krzesinska's mansion, the sisters took him and Nadezhda to the building's white marble room so that they could have supper and continue to catch up.<sup>133</sup>

Family concerns and political issues may well have intertwined as the family ate and chatted and it is possible that they discussed Vladimir's disgust at *Pravda's* recent political line and perhaps his disapproval of Anna and Mariia's ambivalent stance on his civil war slogan. However, as always, Ul'ianov political disagreements did not affect their family relations and Vladimir and Nadezhda took up residence in the Ul'ianovs' flat. Lenin won party support for his ideas at the Seventh RSDRP Conference,



Figure 5 Mariia at the Sixteenth Party Congress, 1930 (third from left in seated row behind Stalin)

which was held in April. He also became the editor of *Pravda* and soon ensured that its line was Leninist.

Vladimir could only stay with Anna, Mark and Mariia for three months, for as the Provisional Government began to clamp down on the Bolsheviks, the Ul'ianovs' flat was subject to regular searches. Mariia was so accustomed to police searches that during one raid she gave the officers Lenin's latest writings to read and rebuked them when they interrogated Nadezhda about where Vladimir was, saying: 'Even under the old Tsarist laws a wife was not obliged to betray her husband.'<sup>134</sup> On another occasion, the police arrested a relative of Mark's, thinking he was Lenin; at this point, though Lenin's name was well known, his face was not.<sup>135</sup>

In the end, Vladimir moved to the other side of the city and only visited occasionally.<sup>136</sup> When the Provisional Government announced that it planned to try Vladimir for being a German spy, Mariia was amongst those who persuaded him to move to Finland to avoid arrest.<sup>137</sup> She also began to act as his representative at *Pravda*, passing on his articles and messages, now that Vladimir could no longer visit the offices regularly.<sup>138</sup>

In addition, Mariia continued to pursue her own revolutionary activities. She attended the Sixth Party Congress in Petrograd, which ran from

the 26 July to the 6 August, and was nominated by the Central Committee as a Bolshevik candidate for the elections to the Constituent Assembly.<sup>139</sup> Indeed Vladimir became seriously concerned about the amount of work Mariia was taking on, writing to her: 'I want to give you some advice – you absolutely must go away for medical treatment. There is nothing much going on at the present time, troubled though it is, and you must use it to get your legs and your nerves treated.'<sup>140</sup> That Vladimir added in his next letter the reassurance that when she returned to Petrograd it would be '*easy* to arrange a job' for her highlights how dedicated Mariia was to her revolutionary work and how valuable she was to the Bolsheviks' campaign.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, Mariia was already planning new literary work in the form of an article about the British working-class movement and another about Party Congresses.<sup>142</sup>

Events would prevent Mariia from fulfilling this aim. General Kornilov's attempted coup in August strengthened the Bolsheviks' position in Petrograd and Lenin began his campaign to persuade his party to seize power. When he returned to Petrograd, he settled in secret in a flat owned by the Bolshevik M.V. Fofanova. Only Nadezhda, Mariia and one other, E.A. Rakh'ia, were allowed to see Vladimir and Lenin relied on them to run errands for him.<sup>143</sup> Gora remembers Vladimir visiting the Elizarovs' flat once during this period and holding a small meeting with his comrades there.<sup>144</sup>

The Ul'ianov family network had proved invaluable once more. Throughout the underground period, it had provided each member with information on the revolutionary situation in Russia and abroad, links with other underground groups, illegal literature and money, as well as political and personal support in the difficult times of imprisonment, exile and the daily stresses of revolutionary activity. On the other hand, although it is clear that co-operation with Vladimir was important to the sisters' lives and work, it is equally apparent that for the majority of their underground careers, Anna and Mariia pursued their own path, relied on their own judgement and experience and acted on their own initiative. Both their underground experiences and their family network would stand them in good stead to cope with the challenges of building the new socialist regime after October.

# 4

## The Revolution Realised

In describing Mariia's role during the Bolshevik seizure of power, Trotsky remembered only that Mariia brought pillows to him and Vladimir on their first night in the Bolshevik headquarters and that the next day, as the Second Congress of Soviets started its session, she 'came running' to call him to the meeting.<sup>1</sup> Trotsky's wife recalled reminding Mariia that Vladimir needed a new collar before he went to make a speech.<sup>2</sup> Other testimony shows that Mariia continued to work for *Pravda* during the October days. S.I. Shul'ga, a member of the Vyborg district party committee, remembered turning to Mariia, as secretary of *Rabochii put'* (*Workers' Path*, as *Pravda* was called at the time), for advice when the newspaper came under attack from the Provisional Government.<sup>3</sup> Mariia encouraged her colleagues to hold their nerve and ensured the paper was issued on 24 October. The next day, Mariia took possession of the printing press of the journal *Russkaia volia* (*Russian Will*) which had been requisitioned for *Pravda* by the Bolsheviks.<sup>4</sup> Of Anna's role in the revolution, Kudelli mentioned only that in the early days after the coup, Anna was on hand to bring Vladimir hot meals since Anna 'knew that without it he would forget to have lunch, with his head full of great matters'.<sup>5</sup> Gora remembered watching a street battle from the window of the Elizarovs' apartment, despite Anna's protests that he was putting himself in danger. Although Anna had sent Gora out of the city for a week during the July days, she did not take the same precaution before the October coup.<sup>6</sup>

Unfortunately, the sisters themselves are silent on their movements during the revolution. In 1936, Anna refused a request to write about her time with textile workers in Petrograd just after the October revolution, saying that she was too ill and too busy to do so.<sup>7</sup> Mariia also wrote nothing of this time. However, both women's careers were about

to take off, and between 1917 and 1924 they enjoyed what was arguably the zenith of their careers. Both occupied high-level posts, worked closely with their brother in the building of the Bolshevik regime and were known to the public as members of the new administration. Anna helped found, and became the head of, the Department for the Protection of Childhood (*Otdel Okhrany Detstva*), while Mariia became the executive secretary of *Pravda* and a leading figure of the Rabsel'kor movement.

Historians who refer to the sisters' post-revolutionary careers do so with a degree of scepticism. Solomon asserts that Mariia's position at *Pravda* was a hollow one, entirely created by her brother. He wrote:

In the Bolshevik time, M.I. Ul'ianova was given the post of secretary of *Pravda* through no less than the initiative of the great Lenin. However, in that post, she was a person without purpose, but all the same, as his sister, she was encircled by a halo of fame. Thus, the name of M.I. Ul'ianova was sheltered.<sup>8</sup>

He also alleges that Anna and Vladimir worked together to persuade Mark to take up the job of People's Commissar for Ways of Communication, overseeing the railway network.<sup>9</sup> Ulam damns the sisters with faint praise, writing:

One can hardly accuse Lenin of nepotism. His relatives' jobs were minor, and in view of their revolutionary past and their professional qualifications the Ul'ianovs perhaps would have reached them even without their powerful connection.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to remember that after the revolution, most government and Party jobs were assigned on an informal and *ad hoc* basis, with some attention, where possible, to matching up a Party member's interests and experience to the post. At first, necessity dictated this approach to appointments since there was a shortage of qualified personnel who were loyal to the regime. This meant that all reliable, experienced Social-Democrats were needed to fill posts. When Krupskaja was assigned her job, she wrote to her friend: 'It has come about that I am the directing commissar for adult education. I do not like centralist work very much, but personal taste cannot be one's guide today, and it was impossible to decline this work.'<sup>11</sup> However, even years after the revolution, those already in top posts, including Anna and Mariia, recruited their own staff personally and directly, without the use of a

formal selection process.<sup>12</sup> Thus, it would have been entirely natural for Anna to go to Vladimir to secure a post for Mark. Yet, Rigby tells another version of events in which Anna was not the one to recommend Mark, though he does put Mark's 'visibility' down to the fact that he was 'Lenin's brother-in-law'.<sup>13</sup> Instead, at a Central Committee on 13 November 1917, I.A. Teodorovich, People's Commissar of Food Supply, suggested that Mark become acting People's Commissar for Ways of Communication and Lenin agreed. Rigby notes that Mark's 'main Party function seems to have been supporting the Ul'ianov family, while working as an insurance agent', but does admit that he did have some 'technical and administrative expertise'.<sup>14</sup> Mark had studied engineering at university, worked for the Moscow-Kursk Railway administration and he had been an insurance agent for a transport insurance society.<sup>15</sup> He had also been closely involved in the railwaymen's strike of October 1905. Mark remained the acting Commissar for Ways of Communication until January 1918 when he became, more appropriately, the People's Commissar for Insurance.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike Mark, Mariia was not assigned to her job, nor was it created by Lenin, as Solomon suggests. Rather her title of executive secretary of *Pravda* merely formalised the work she had begun in March 1917, before Vladimir had returned from abroad. If Mariia's job title was a little vague it probably reflected the wealth of activities Mariia had done for the newspaper in the underground years and now it gave her the freedom to be involved in any aspect of the newspaper she wanted. *Pravda* colleagues writing later about Mariia's work gave her a wide variety of roles. S. Krylova detailed Mariia's all encompassing job description as follows:

She was the executive secretary and member of the editorial board of *Pravda*, she edited important articles, received visitors, and also comrades, [...] she spoke at meetings, participated in Central Committee conferences, and was a delegate to Party congresses and conferences.<sup>17</sup>

This description points clearly to Mariia's political role in the Bolshevik regime, which went far beyond her job as executive secretary of *Pravda*. When the government was transferred to Moscow in March 1918, Mariia went with it, moving into the new Tverskaia Street *Pravda* offices and into a Kremlin flat with Vladimir and Nadezhda.

Mariia wrote occasionally for *Pravda*, but it is clear from her choice of topics that this activity was not one she saw as a priority. She wrote an

obituary for Ol'ga Ivanovna Chachina, a Party member who had worked for the underground movement, as well as two slightly more political articles.<sup>18</sup> The first was a short piece calling for a proper review of the agitational work carried out in the countryside by the Soviet authorities and the second was a longer article in which Mariia supported the introduction of harsh punishments for speculators.<sup>19</sup> Even in the latter article, most of the text was devoted to outlining regional Soviet resolutions on the subject, rather than asserting her own viewpoint.<sup>20</sup> It was only with the launch of the Rabkor (Worker Correspondent) Movement that Mariia truly found her political voice in the new regime.

### The Rabsel'kors' great friend<sup>21</sup>

The Rabkor Movement, which grew into the Rabsel'kor (Worker-Peasant Correspondent) Movement, began in the first years following the revolution when workers from towns across Russia formed circles and started writing letters to *Pravda*. The publication of worker correspondence had a long heritage in the RSDRP and was something that had been encouraged from the turn of the century as a means of gauging the mood of the working classes. In 1904, Vladimir had written to colleagues in all Russian organisations of the RSDRP through *Vpered*, asking them to encourage workers to write about their lives for the newspaper.<sup>22</sup> This correspondence was to keep the editorial board informed of important meetings and events, but also of the 'mood' and 'the daily, "uninteresting", usual, routine side of the [workers'] movement'.<sup>23</sup> During the war, letters from the front had often been published in the illegal *Pravda*.<sup>24</sup> Gradually, as the correspondence movement grew after the revolution, the Rabkors were given increasing amounts of official guidance by *Pravda*. An editorial board and a bureau of Rabkors were established to oversee the movement, with organisers being sent out to the regions, to visit factories, and to recruit and supervise worker-correspondents.

The First All-Union Conference of Rabkors of *Pravda* was held in November 1923 to formalise the movement. Although it was small, with only forty-two delegates, it was here that the principles and structure of the movement were established.<sup>25</sup> The conference defined the Rabkor movement as the 'independent voice of the working masses' and regarding the worker correspondent's role, the conference resolved: 'Not only does the Rabkor illuminate life in industry and link the newspaper with the masses, but he is also an active organiser of



public life.<sup>26</sup> Before long the Rabkors had their own journal, initially entitled *Rabochii korrespondent* (*Worker Correspondent*). By 1925, there were 74,000 Rabkors and 115,000 Sel'kors, and by 1926 the movement could boast that the newspaper walls which it had introduced numbered more than 40,000.<sup>27</sup>

The importance of the Rabkor movement as a means of linking the population with the Party and the state was recognised by the Communist Party, as is shown by the fact that the movement was regularly discussed at Party conferences and congresses. In December 1923 the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission resolved that the Rabkor movement must be 'protected [...] from red tape and bureaucracy'.<sup>28</sup> At the Thirteenth Party Congress it was resolved that it was 'essential' that there was 'wide involvement by the working masses in Rabkor work' and that the Party must give 'help and leadership to the Rabkor movement'.<sup>29</sup> In 1925, the Central Committee of the Party officially stated that it recognised the Rabkor journal, now called the *Raboche-krest'ianskii korrespondent* (*Worker-Peasant Correspondent*), as the 'leading journal of the Rabsel'kor'.<sup>30</sup>

Mariia was a key organiser of the Rabkor movement from the earliest stages. She was an obvious choice for this job since she had long been a figure known to workers and soldiers, who, between the February and October revolutions, had visited the *Pravda* offices and met with Mariia. As the editor of the 'Working Life' page of *Pravda*, she would collect any writing they had done about their lives, worker meetings and strikes for publication in the newspaper.<sup>31</sup>

Mariia set out her vision for the Rabsel'kor movement in articles and at its conferences. Above all, Mariia saw the Rabkor movement as a bridge between the masses and the Party, enabling each to understand the other. While the Party would gain a clear guide to workers' views and needs from the Rabkors' writing, working as Rabkors would turn workers into 'conscious Leninists and active Party members'.<sup>32</sup> Mariia wrote:

We must strive towards the aim that *every worker becomes a Rabkor*, taking some kind of part in informing newspapers about his factory and his work, fulfilling the crucial social role of bringing the Party closer to the masses and vice versa.<sup>33</sup>

Mariia stressed that the Rabkor movement had to be democratic and egalitarian, and open to any worker or peasant to join, even if they were not a member of the Party.<sup>34</sup> She argued at the conference of 1926:

Any worker or peasant, who takes it upon himself to write to the newspaper, can join it. He does not need to observe any formality whatsoever, no type of probation is demanded: only an interest in the newspaper is needed.<sup>35</sup>

Although the movement was open to all, Mariia did expect the Rabkors to gain education and training once members. Mariia made the first attempt to give guidance to the Rabkors about what type of articles and letters they should submit to their journal, by writing a pamphlet entitled *How to write and what to write about*.<sup>36</sup> In 1924, she made it clear at the Second All-Union Conference of Rabkors that the movement should educate its correspondents in political ideology and affairs so that they could write accurately (or more probably, within the bounds of political acceptability) about the increasingly complex political and economic issues of the day.<sup>37</sup> Indeed, throughout the 1920s there were debates over the extent to which Rabkors should have the freedom to express their views and the extent to which the Party should have the power to control their writing. In general, Mariia defended the Rabkors' right to self-expression (within the bounds of the editorial board's guidance) and opposed Party interference in the movement. Mariia did, however, view Rabkor work as the first step towards active involvement in the Party itself.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed, like *Pravda*, the Rabkor movement was expected to contribute to political campaigns, to support the Party in its struggle with various 'enemies' and in the implementation of its policies.<sup>39</sup> Those reminiscing about working at the newspaper saw it as one of the key vehicles for the struggle against 'the bourgeoisie, Mensheviks, SRs and other populists' but also as a positive champion of the 'new' ways.<sup>40</sup> Throughout the 1920s Mariia was to be found at the head of these campaigns, commissioning articles and instructing authors what to write about.<sup>41</sup>

In terms of attacking 'enemies', one of the first examples of this was during the debates surrounding the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations, when the Left Communists were criticised in *Pravda* for their opposition to the conclusion of peace with Germany. An old acquaintance and *Pravda* colleague, L. Bystrova, remembered Mariia bringing in Lenin's article 'About the itch', for publication, in which he defended the necessity of signing the treaty.<sup>42</sup>

Mariia also led more positive campaigns through the Rabkor movement and *Pravda*, which aimed to improve workers' lives and their working conditions. At the end of 1922, Mariia helped organise a

competition to find the best and worst factory directors, with workers encouraged to write in and praise or criticise their bosses. The judges' panel was composed of representatives of the Central Committee and the Moscow Committee of the Party, as well as editors of *Pravda* and *Rabkors* and there were prizes for the best writers, including winter coats, year long subscriptions to *Pravda*, watches, hats and books.<sup>43</sup>

Mariia became a champion of the rights of the *Rabkors* themselves. In August 1922, a *Rabkor* named Spiridonov was murdered by two corrupt workers whom he had exposed in an article. Besides attending the unveiling of a memorial to Spiridonov, Mariia wrote an article entitled 'There should be a review. (On the case of Comrade Spiridonov's murder)', which outlined the *Rabkor's* story, but also demanded that the case be reviewed since the defendants had only been sentenced to five years imprisonment.<sup>44</sup> She argued that murdering a *Rabkor* was a crime of 'social-political significance' and that the perpetrators must be treated without 'leniency [or] mercy'.<sup>45</sup> She followed this up with another article in October, 'On the case of Comrade Spiridonov. In defence of the worker press.', in which she argued that the workers' press was one of the Communist Party's 'strongest tools' and that anyone who persecuted worker correspondents should have legal proceedings brought against them.<sup>46</sup> On a practical level, Mariia set up the Iron Fund to help the many *Rabkors* who were attacked by those they had criticised.<sup>47</sup> A.A. Sol'ts, a member of the Presidium of the Central Control Commission, and other Party members contributed to the fund alongside Mariia and Nadezhda, who donated the royalties they received from their writing to it.<sup>48</sup>

Mariia also defended the *Rabsel'kors'* right to anonymity as a further measure to protect them from persecution. She refused to accept the calls made in the journal *Zhurnal'st* (*Journalist*) that suitable candidates to join the *Rabkor* movement should be selected at general meetings of workers. In an article, Mariia argued that this approach was 'bureaucratic' and totally misunderstood 'the essence of the [*Rabkor's*] work'.<sup>49</sup> More generally, she argued that above all the *Rabsel'kors'* identities must always be protected so that they might write the truth and that the honesty of the *Rabsel'kors* was guaranteed by the fact that they answered to the editorial boards of *Pravda* and of the *Rabkor* journal for the accuracy of their articles.<sup>50</sup> These measures were also a means of limiting Party control over *Rabkors*.

Mariia also used her position as *Rabkor* organiser to protect individual correspondents from persecution. For example, when two brothers were arrested, after the elder brother, Vladimir Makar'ev, criticised

the work of a railway foreman, Mariia responded to their mother's plea for help by sending a telegram of protest to the procurator.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, it is not known what Mariia wrote, but the charge against the two men was dropped.<sup>52</sup> Mariia quickly gained a reputation as a person who gave help, where she could, to those who asked for it. As O. Toom, a member of *Pravda's* secretariat, put it: 'Even in the 20s, [Mariia's] name was widely known to people who needed help to restore their infringed rights.'<sup>53</sup> Soon it was not unusual for Rabkors to come to *Pravda's* Moscow offices, even from the provinces, to speak to Mariia and ask for her help.<sup>54</sup>

Another area of interest for Mariia was women's participation in the Rabkor movement. She regularly highlighted the problem that there was only a small number of Zhenkors (women correspondents) in the movement at Rabkor conferences.<sup>55</sup> In her efforts to resolve the problem, Mariia both upheld the Party line, which broadly opposed separate work amongst women, but also recognised that special efforts had to be made to recruit women to the movement. In an article published in *Raboche-krest'ianskii korrespondent*, Mariia argued that women did not participate in the movement partly because of their economic position and their standing in the family, and partly because, as a result of their life roles, they represented 'a more backward and dark element' of society.<sup>56</sup> This explanation was often used by Bolsheviks to justify the lack of female participation in Soviet politics and to support the argument that once socialism had been properly established, women would be freed simultaneously with men by the reshaping of economic relations.<sup>57</sup> However, Mariia also blamed the Rabkor movement itself for not taking 'sufficiently energetic measures' to encourage women to contribute to the newspaper's work.<sup>58</sup> She argued that the Rabkors and the Party's Women's Department (*Zhenotdel*) had to put the recruitment of women to the movement at the top of their agenda.<sup>59</sup> Though Mariia argued that, once recruited, Zhenkors should not restrict their contributions to women's journals, but should also participate in the general work of the Rabkor movement, she helped the editorial board of the Moscow women's magazine *Delegatka* (*Women Delegate*) to 'organise work with [women] correspondents'.<sup>60</sup>

Mariia's work for *Pravda* and the Rabkor Movement was celebrated throughout the 1920s. In 1922, *Pravda* celebrated its fifth and tenth anniversaries: it was ten years since *Pravda* had been founded and five years since it had begun publishing legally after the February revolution of 1917. A whole article was dedicated to Mariia, which celebrated her work as the newspaper's devoted secretary, the 'organisational soul

of *Pravda*', and as a 'soldier of the revolution'.<sup>61</sup> A letter, written to Mariia by Rabkors, and published in the newspaper, said:

Dear comrade [...] We, the worker-correspondents, send greetings to you [...] Led by you, we will, as before, carry the old battle standard of the workers' newspaper *Pravda* firmly and strongly in all the upheavals of the [next] five year struggle for a better future for the working class.<sup>62</sup>

In 1923, another article, with a sketch of Mariia, was published in *Pravda*, celebrating her role as the organiser of the Rabkor movement, and she was also made an honorary printer by a general meeting of printers.<sup>63</sup> The M.I. Ul'ianova Club of Red Directors and Worker Correspondents was founded in her name.<sup>64</sup> One of the aims of the Rabkor movement was to bring the workers and the Party together and the club was used, amongst other things, to achieve this. Mariia organised regular speeches at the club by high-level Party members, with visitors including the secretary of the Central Committee, S.V. Kosior, and the head of the People's Commissariat of Education (Narkompros), A.V. Lunacharskii, as well as writers like A. Serafimovich, M. Kol'tsov, A. Zorich and Henri Barbusse.<sup>65</sup> Anna added her own praise, writing to Mariia in July 1924, about how she 'rejoiced' when she read about her work with the Rabkor movement and praising how she had 'knocked off' a recent speech.<sup>66</sup> Anna finished her letter: 'Oh yes Manechek! How well your work has developed and worldwide [too]!'<sup>67</sup>

Even though Mariia's name was celebrated in the newspapers, it was rare, before 1924, that any reference was made to her connection to Lenin. There is no mention of it, for example, in the articles listed above, even when Lenin is named.<sup>68</sup> That Mariia did not emphasise her relationship with Lenin is highlighted by the fact that it took time for new employees at *Pravda* to realise that she was his sister, particularly if they had come to Moscow from the provinces. When A. Ashmarina arrived in Moscow from Kineshma, she had no idea that Mariia was Lenin's sister, and asked Mariia in all innocence if she had heard Lenin speaking in public.<sup>69</sup>

Of course, others who worked with Mariia were well aware of her family connection and they also knew that Mariia and Vladimir worked closely together on *Pravda*. The best description of this is by N. Rabinovich, assistant to the head of the Provincial News Department, who wrote:

We knew that Mariia told Lenin a lot about *Pravda*, so that Vladimir Il'ich was up to date with editorial matters. Every day after lunch at home, Mariia would go around handing out tasks. Often these assignments came directly from Lenin or the idea for them had arisen from talks with him. When handing out the assignments though, Mariia always said 'the people say that...'<sup>70</sup>

Vladimir was, for example, directly responsible for the introduction of a Peasant Life section in *Pravda* and remained involved in its work. Mariia told Gurov, a man recruited to work on the section: 'Not a day goes by when Lenin doesn't take an interest in the rural department – how work is going, how many articles there are and on what theme, what letters have been received.'<sup>71</sup>

Mariia often contacted Vladimir to ask for his help with *Pravda* or Rabkor matters. For example, on one occasion, Lunacharskii was scheduled to speak at the Rabkor club, but suddenly cancelled because he had to give a report to a meeting of the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom). Mariia simply went to Vladimir and asked him to rearrange Lunacharskii's report so that he could come to the club as arranged.<sup>72</sup> Mariia also commissioned articles from Vladimir, asking him in 1921, for example, to write an article entitled 'Tactics and strategies' for a collection of works to mark the fourth anniversary of the revolution.<sup>73</sup> Mariia's connections in high places did not end there though and she often telephoned people like Lunacharskii, at Narkompros, or G.V. Chicherin, at the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs, to check details and consult with them.<sup>74</sup>

Mariia, therefore, enjoyed a successful career after the revolution. She took on a wide range of roles at *Pravda* and in the Rabkor movement, and was celebrated for her efforts. Although she was discreet about her link with Lenin, she had a close working relationship with him and could rely on him to help her if needed.

## The children of the revolution

Anna's role in the new regime differed from her sister's, though, once again, it was not one defined by Lenin. Far from automatically receiving a post in the new government, she did not join the administration until months after the revolution. In October 1917, Anna left her post at *Pravda* and went to work for the newly formed Union of Textile Workers in Petrograd, editing their newspaper *Tkach* (*Weaver*).<sup>75</sup> It was here that she chose to remain until the spring of 1918.

There also seem to have been practical reasons for not moving to Moscow. Mark thought his work would keep him in Petrograd and Anna did not think it was worth moving to Moscow if she did not have a job there.<sup>76</sup> Even once Mark had started looking into moving to Moscow it was by no means guaranteed that they would be able to find accommodation.<sup>77</sup> In the end, it was only when the journal *Tkach* collapsed, despite Anna's defence of it, that she agreed to leave Petrograd.<sup>78</sup>

However, while the new government was in another city, Anna was by no means isolated from events in Moscow. Mark's work provided a link with events in the new capital, which he visited regularly and he was able to tell Anna about the Sovnarkom meetings which, as a People's Commissar, he attended 'almost constantly'.<sup>79</sup> Anna herself attended meetings of the Petrograd Central Committee.<sup>80</sup> She also corresponded with Mariia and her letters give an insight into her impressions of the early days of the Soviet government. Anna's interest in the continuing work of the government in Moscow is clear in a letter she wrote to Mariia in March 1918 in which she complained: 'You write so little, though everything is new around you [...] Write more openly to me, my dear.'<sup>81</sup>

No longer fearing that the police might intercept her letters, Anna wrote openly about Party members and the political situation. She commented on Kollontai's elopement with P.E. Dybenko, the People's Commissar of the Navy, asking if he had 'finally been dismissed', and said that although Lunacharskii was 'dear, he was not businesslike'.<sup>82</sup> Anna's excitement about the new regime is apparent in the way she signed off these letters, passing on greetings to all the comrades in Moscow, asking for more news, and telling her sister to 'be happy'.<sup>83</sup> Anna's letters to Mariia were also full of concern about living conditions in Moscow and regular offers to make or buy clothes to send to her. Throughout the first months of the new regime, Anna often voiced her worries about Mariia over-working. She warned her in one letter: 'Please don't over work, *don't go to Pravda at night!* Eat more and sleep!'<sup>84</sup>

Anna often asked Mariia to pass on her concerns about various issues to Vladimir. She hoped, for example, that Vladimir would be able to intervene on behalf of the writer and humanist, V.G. Korolenko.<sup>85</sup> In 1918, she wrote to Mariia:

How is Vol[odia]'s health? Say hello to him and Nadia. *Please do ask* Volodia to turn his attention to V.G. Korolenko! According to

today's newspaper he has been taken hostage in Poltava! He's already an old man you know, and ill, moreover. He is our best artist, the most sensitive soul after Tolstoy in Russia. He's my favourite writer. Do, do ask [Volodia] to see to his freedom quickly. I am sick with worry about him... It is simply Volodia's place [to get involved].<sup>86</sup>

It is interesting to note the variety of national, cultural and personal arguments that Anna deployed to support her request, though it seems that her worries were unfounded, for the report was untrue. According to his own diary, Korolenko was not taken hostage in Poltava in 1918, though he did visit prisoners in the city.<sup>87</sup> Even if he had been, it is not clear that Vladimir would have intervened. A letter written a year later by Vladimir to the writer Maxim Gorky about Korolenko suggests that Vladimir did not share Anna's admiration for the man. He wrote:

I recently read [his] pamphlet *War, the Fatherland and Mankind*, which he wrote in 1917. Mind you, Korolenko is the best of the near Kadets, almost a Menshevik. But what a disgusting, base, vile defence of an imperialist war, concealed behind honeyed phrases! He is a wretched philistine in thrall to bourgeois prejudices! For such gentlemen 10,000,000 killed in an imperialist war is a deed worthy of support (by *deeds*, accompanied by honeyed phrases 'against' war), but the death of hundreds of thousands in a *just* civil war against the landowners and capitalists evokes ahs and ohs, sighs and hysterics. No there is no harm in such 'talents' being made to spend some weeks or so in prison.<sup>88</sup>

The Korolenko incident was not the only one to trouble Anna, as can be seen in this letter to Mariia. She wrote:

Did you go with Shkurka [Vladimir]? Did Shkurka speak? Is it true that there has been a big protest amongst his people about his new line? What's this about Sverdlov calling the Red Guards to drag Martov from the rostrum?! What's this about him detaining the ugly mug?! How could Volodia allow this?!!<sup>89</sup>

Here Anna was referring to an incident in May 1918, when Martov, who, as a Menshevik, was well known for his ferocious criticism of Bolshevik policies in the Central Executive Committee, attacked the Bolsheviks on the issue of 'sending workers' food detachments to



villages'.<sup>90</sup> He accused the Bolsheviks of using this policy to remove from Moscow and Petrograd workers who were discontent and likely to start voicing their protests. The chairman of the committee, Ia. M. Sverdlov, tried to regain order in the meeting by threatening to exclude Martov for three sessions. When this had no effect, the militia were called in. According to one witness Martov walked out, though Anna seems to have heard that he was dragged out.<sup>91</sup> Obviously, Anna was uneasy about the use of force to remove a speaker from a Central Executive Committee meeting, even if it was Martov.

Around this time, Anna also worried about Dmitrii, who was leading the Bolshevik underground in Evpatoriia in the Crimea, which was under German occupation. Anna's letters to Mariia anxiously asked for news of Dmitrii and showed a keen awareness of how 'risky' it was for Dmitrii in the Crimea because of 'his name'.<sup>92</sup> On 9 May 1918, Anna wrote to her sister asking her if Vladimir could recall Dmitrii to Moscow and organise a post for him there.<sup>93</sup> Dmitrii did begin to make regular trips to Moscow, but only took up work at the People's Commissariat of Public Health (Narkomzdrav) towards the end of the war, having helped establish the Soviet regime in the Crimea.

Anna herself moved to Moscow in May 1918, joining the government in spring 1918 as the head of the newly formed Department for the Protection of Childhood (*Otdel Okhrany Detstva*, henceforth DPC). This post reflected Anna's long interest in children's welfare, which she had pursued actively since October 1917, on top of her work at *Tkach*.<sup>94</sup> In April 1918 she had written to Mariia that she was going to visit a factory in Petrograd regarding a children's colony.<sup>95</sup> In fact, Anna had been so caught up in working with Lunacharskii on another children's colony project at Tsarskoe Selo, that she had cited it as one of her reasons for not moving to Moscow.<sup>96</sup>

Anna's remit at the DPC was to coordinate and regulate the provision of children's homes, colonies and clinics.<sup>97</sup> From the outset, she faced huge problems that would not, in fact, be resolved until the 1930s. The upheavals of the revolution and the civil war left thousands of children orphaned, but also decimated the state's resources to improve the situation.<sup>98</sup> These issues, including food shortages and the lack of suitable accommodation for children, were highlighted in 1919 at the All-Russian Congress for the Protection of Childhood, which Anna helped to organise and participated in as a member of the Presidium. Three hundred delegates met in Moscow to discuss practical issues and to draw up a policy on *besprizorniki*, the homeless children who had been orphaned or abandoned during the civil war.<sup>99</sup>

Although no stenographic record of the Congress was kept, the minutes contain extracts from the delegates' speeches.<sup>100</sup> Unusually, Anna took an idealistic stance on the socialist state's approach to child-care, arguing in her speech: 'There must be no wretched children who do not belong to anyone. All children are children of the state.'<sup>101</sup> To ensure this, it was necessary to build a network of childcare institutions with a family or community ethos and structure. Children would 'establish and maintain order', with a minimum of help from a limited number of specialist staff.<sup>102</sup> Her practical suggestion on how to begin to establish this support network was that houses of the old nobility should be requisitioned and converted into children's homes.<sup>103</sup>

However, introducing these policies was not easy. The Congress heard how the properties of the nobility were often in a state of total disrepair and were completely unsuitable for use as children's homes. Yet the limited number of existing homes and trained staff simply could not keep up with the demand for places. Starving children were regularly being evacuated from areas of famine to areas which, though not suffering from food shortages, lacked the resources to cope with the influx of youngsters.<sup>104</sup> Indeed, in 1918 Anna had to take special measures to help provide for children being evacuated, writing to the Board of Properties of Moscow's People's Palaces to request 'pillows, blankets and bed-linen needed for the orphanages being evacuated from Moscow to the grain-growing provinces because of the famine'.<sup>105</sup> Vladimir had endorsed the letter.<sup>106</sup>

Generally, Anna was discreet about her relationship with Lenin, using her married name, for example, when writing in *Pravda* as the head of the DPC. A student at the Department for the Protection of Motherhood and Infancy, M.A. Mustova, remembered being called to have a meeting with Anna at the DPC but admitted that she did not know 'she was Vladimir Il'ich's sister'.<sup>107</sup> However, Anna worked closely with Vladimir throughout this period, both informally and officially. She later remembered how Vladimir, while in the middle of Sovnarkom meetings, would write little notes to comrades elsewhere asking about other issues, and that these comrades would then join the Sovnarkom meeting in order to see Vladimir and reply to him. Anna was often aware of the contents of such notes. She wrote: 'I sometimes discussed these notes [with Vladimir]. I remember times when Il'ich himself said to me: "Would you remind me about this at Sovnarkom" or: "I will find out at Sovnarkom and tell you".'<sup>108</sup> Anna also worked with Vladimir officially. He signed two Sovnarkom decrees prepared by

Anna on measures to be taken to protect children from illnesses caused by malnutrition.<sup>109</sup>

Despite opposition from F.E. Dzerzhinskii, the head of the Cheka, Anna also pushed through a Sovnarkom decree that children under the age of eighteen could not be prosecuted for their crimes. Juvenile crime had become a major difficulty, with gangs of *besprizorniki* roaming the country, and stealing or even prostituting themselves in order to survive. On this issue, Anna was amongst those who argued that children should not be punished for their crimes, but rehabilitated in educational institutions. Anna argued that besides the fact that children should not be classified as criminals, the conditions in juvenile prisons were totally unacceptable.<sup>110</sup>

Anna backed up her practical work with articles in *Pravda* which highlighted the problems faced and called for more action. On 23 July 1919, 'Children and living conditions' was published, in which Anna outlined the poor living conditions of many worker families and attacked the regional and central housing departments for not providing enough buildings for children's homes. She wrote that all the efforts being made to 'struggle with begging, prostitution, and speculation by children' were still 'measures on paper' because it was 'impossible to organise corresponding institutions for distribution, reception etc [...] due to the lack of vacant accommodation'.<sup>111</sup> She criticised the regime for allowing Soviet leaders to requisition 'the richest furniture, soft sofas, armchairs, bronze chandeliers and pianos' for their offices, while children had to sleep two or three to a bed in terrible living conditions.<sup>112</sup> She concluded her article arguing that the best buildings being requisitioned, those with 'bright spacious flats with gardens', must be allocated as children's homes and appealed to 'comrade communists' to 'squeeze up in their offices' and to remember that huge numbers of children were still living in 'damp cellars'.<sup>113</sup>

Anna also campaigned for the improvement of children's homes from ones that resembled 'army barracks', to ones situated on the outskirts of cities, where children could work, play and learn surrounded by fresh air, and grow and develop into independent, courageous and free individuals, 'a new kind of people' for the 'new society' being created.<sup>114</sup> In 1920 Anna wrote articles to promote the Week of the Child and courses to train women workers to be teachers in children's homes.<sup>115</sup>

In terms of the achievements of the DPC, Anna quoted various sets of figures in articles in *Pravda*. In one article, written in November 1920, Anna asserted that by January 1919, the DPC had opened 1279

children's homes in Russia, housing 75,574 children, and that by July 1920, these numbers had risen to 3140 and 210,405 respectively.<sup>116</sup> She announced in a later article that in July 1918, there were 50,000 places for children in homes, and by January 1920, this had increased to 150,000 places.<sup>117</sup> It is difficult to ascertain the accuracy of these figures.<sup>118</sup> Goldman quotes figures which suggest that higher numbers of children were in homes: 125,000 in 1919 and 400,000 in 1920.<sup>119</sup>

The work of the DPC was disrupted in 1920, when it was proposed that the DPC be transferred from the Commissariat of Social Welfare (Narkomsobes) to the Commissariat of Education (Narkompros). This was a common aspect of the early days of Soviet government; as Anna described, there were many power struggles between departments as each tried to take on 'the widest sphere of work, unable to divide, to share'.<sup>120</sup> Anna and her colleagues opposed the transfer of the DPC to Narkompros, arguing that Narkompros had 'enough tasks, with the teaching of all youngsters, [...] from kindergarten [through] to university, and with the training of teaching personnel for all these institutions' without taking on the DPC.<sup>121</sup> Despite these objections, Sovnarkom decreed that the transfer would go ahead.

Drabkina also suggests that Anna may have caused friction between herself and Nadezhda, who worked at Narkompros, because of her views on pedagogical literature.<sup>122</sup> While Nadezhda increasingly pushed for centralised and ideological control over education and those entrusted to teaching children, Anna maintained in at least one article that trained experts could not replace those 'priceless' individuals who were naturally predisposed towards, and had practical experience in, looking after children.<sup>123</sup> She also believed in the value of people's reminiscences about their childhoods as sources of information about how children learn. From these she believed teachers and psychologists could learn far more about how to educate children than from 'long theoretical discussions'.<sup>124</sup>

On the other hand, Anna made a strong case for children to be raised by working class women trained as children's home governesses, both because the children of working mothers needed to be looked after properly while their mothers were at work, but also because every child would be 'a citizen and builder [of society] in the future and must be raised suitably for that'.<sup>125</sup> The two arguments can be reconciled: Anna believed that children should receive a socialist upbringing from specialists, but felt that the training for such specialists had to be led by those who had experience of raising children.

Anna and Nadezhda's differences of opinion do not seem to have developed further, perhaps because they were soon eclipsed by a series of events that culminated in Anna being officially reprimanded by the Board of Narkompros and by the Orgburo of the Party for indiscipline and being threatened with expulsion from the Party if she was ever deemed to breach Party discipline again.<sup>126</sup>

The reason for Anna's reprimand was the fact that she had taken over the fourth floor of her department's building, the former Nikolai Institute, which had been earmarked by E.A. Litkens<sup>127</sup> for Glavpolitprosvet (the Main Political Education Committee of Narkompros, led by Krupskaia). Anna and her department had great plans for their building, which was to be a model institution for children's homes and staff training centres across Russia.<sup>128</sup> The fourth floor of the Institute was to be home to the Labour School from the Ekaterinskii Institute. Litkens dismissed Anna's protests about his decision and ignored Nadezhda's objections to being moved to this location. Indeed, Anna had in fact telephoned Nadezhda directly to discuss the matter and ensure her support. She then took matters into her own hands, and, relying on the fact that the original Narkompros decree assigning her the whole building had not been revoked, moved the Labour School and its two hundred children and staff into the fourth floor.<sup>129</sup> Anna was immediately issued a rebuke from the Board of Narkompros and the Orgburo of the Party, Litkens and Lunacharskii voted to prevent her giving a report of the DPC's work to the forthcoming Party conference, and the Orgburo threatened the DPC with disbandment.<sup>130</sup>

Anna was clearly given no special treatment as Lenin's sister in this case and she does not seem to have turned to Vladimir for help in this matter. Instead, she argued that she had not breached Party discipline, pointing out that she had been a member of the Party 'since its foundation' and was 'accustomed to discipline'.<sup>131</sup> She accused the Orgburo of having no evidence of her ever having failed to fulfil a directive from the Board of Narkompros. She openly criticised Litkens and Lunacharskii, accusing the latter in particular of his own breaches of discipline, and 'demand[ed]' that the Orgburo both withdraw its reprimand and turn its attention to the failings of Narkompros.<sup>132</sup> In defence of the DPC she argued that disbanding a department because of the failing of one worker was unjustified and suggested that she should simply be transferred from the department.<sup>133</sup>

Although Anna lost her job at the DPC, she remained defiant, writing in 1929 that she had been vindicated in her view that too many departments were put under Narkompros' jurisdiction, since

'after a couple of years, many of the institutions transferred to Narkompros from various departments began to return to them again'.<sup>134</sup> She also noted, with regret, that as a result of the transfers 'the organisation of children's homes was to a large extent destroyed'.<sup>135</sup>

Anna continued to take an interest in children's welfare. In 1925, she worked with Mariia to campaign for children's welfare, helping to run a *Pravda* appeal for *besprizorniki*. Anna wrote a supportive article in *Pravda*, in which she pledged to donate the royalties from her reminiscences of Lenin to the fund and appealed to her brother, Dmitrii, and other Bolshevik colleagues, including the People's Commissar of Military and Naval Affairs, K.E. Voroshilov, and the writer D.A. Furmanov, as well as Dzerzhinskii, Ol'minskii, Bonch-Bruевич, to give money as well.<sup>136</sup>

Anna, like her sister, held a government position during the early years of the Soviet regime and was able to do work in which she had had a long interest, children's welfare. She also had a reliable ally in Vladimir and the two co-operated to good effect in introducing measures to protect children. This period was not without its controversies though, with Anna involving herself in the power struggles between departments, and facing reprimands from Narkompros and the Orgburo. However, despite the difficulties surrounding her last months at the DPC, Anna was able to find herself a new post within the government.

## A new history

In April 1921 Anna accepted Ol'minskii's invitation to work at the Commission on the History of the October Revolution and the Russian Communist Party (Istpart), which had been founded in 1920.<sup>137</sup> Anna and Ol'minskii were old friends and Bolshevik comrades from the underground years; Gora wrote that during the underground years Mikhail Stepanovich was Anna's 'closest acquaintance', adding that 'until [her] last days she was very, very friendly with him'.<sup>138</sup> For Anna, who was already fifty-seven and suffering from regular bouts of illness, working at Istpart represented a less stressful way to contribute to the new government's work. She had no qualms about extending her rest trips while she was employed by Istpart even if they would 'scold' her for it.<sup>139</sup>

Anna also freely admitted that she had no formal training as a historian. However, she was an acceptable candidate for the post, because she was a loyal Party member who could be relied on to write suitably

ideological histories of the revolutionary movement.<sup>140</sup> The work of Istpart was to be far more than simply recording the facts of the history of the revolution. In her article on Istpart, Savitskaia highlights that the department's aim was to 'create' the history of the Party and to solve 'many of the problems of historico-party study'.<sup>141</sup> The various writing by Anna for Istpart and *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, Istpart's official journal which Anna helped edit, shows her to be capable of both following the official Party line and of writing much more honest accounts of certain aspects of the revolutionary movement.

Amongst Anna's 'correct' work was her unfavourable critique of Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period*, which was published in 1920 and which vigorously defended the policy of war communism. By this time, the civil war was over and Lenin was at the forefront of the campaign to introduce the New Economic Policy (NEP) to counteract the increasingly negative impact of war communism. Anna's review contributed to an attempt by Istpart, led by Ol'minskii and most probably with Lenin's support, to discredit Bukharin's work and to promote the NEP.<sup>142</sup> Using the experience of the early impact of the NEP as evidence, Anna disagreed with Bukharin's assertion that during the transition period such concepts as 'cost, money [and] wages' and political-economy would be useless, and denied that force would be the main method needed for building communism.<sup>143</sup> Anna also argued that the study of Marx, especially *Capital*, remained as important as ever, particularly for the Soviet youth.<sup>144</sup>

Anna also wrote a six point guideline, which, she thought, represented best practice in writing biographies of Lenin.<sup>145</sup> Although she insisted that every detail of his life must be correct, Anna side-stepped the issue of how Lenin's political work was to be interpreted. Anna recommended that Lenin's various speeches and writings should be recorded, giving a summary of their content and quotations from the most important parts. However, she gave biographers licence to choose for themselves the most important and representative quotations from Lenin's works.<sup>146</sup> More and more these quotations would be chosen to match the historical narrative the Party was propagating.

Besides this, Anna agreed to edit a series of children's books about the Old Bolsheviks. There were seventy books in the series, and many were highly successful, running to three or four editions.<sup>147</sup> This was a typical Istpart series, since during the 1920s the split of 1903 became central to the Party's history. Mensheviks had been attacked as enemies of the state since 1918, so it was crucial to define who had been a loyal Bolshevik (and therefore, according to the official history, loyal to

Lenin) since 1903, and who had not, even though such divisions had been ill-defined, fluid and changeable at the time.<sup>148</sup> That Anna's contribution to Istpart was recognised in 1930 in the celebratory 100<sup>th</sup> edition of *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, suggests her continued acceptability to the regime and to Istpart.<sup>149</sup>

However, Anna also wrote histories and compiled collections that did not contribute to the Istpart-defined history of the Party. This was possible for numerous reasons. The time period Anna worked for Istpart, 1921–1926, was an important factor. This was a period during which there was some ideological manipulation of the past, but still a degree of openness about it too. At that time, for example, Martov was allowed to contribute information to the footnotes of the first collection of Lenin's works and Anna's own series 'Reminiscences of Old Bolsheviks' was still acceptable.<sup>150</sup> It was only after Anna left Istpart in 1926 that the Party's history 'underwent reconstruction' twice, first in an effort to reduce and then to remove references to Old Bolsheviks associated with the opposition movements of the 1920s.<sup>151</sup> By 1929, the concept of Old Bolsheviks had become unacceptable.<sup>152</sup>

Lenin's support also gave Anna more scope for her writing. He endorsed two of Anna's first projects at Istpart: editing collections of reminiscences of A.P. Skliarenko and of N.E. Fedoseev.<sup>153</sup> That these topics were not part of the main Party history project might have meant Anna was relatively free to pursue them, but her connection to Lenin would have ensured this. Although Skliarenko was not a major figure in the revolution, he was one of Vladimir's first comrades in Samara in the 1890s and information about his life provides historians with an insight into the early period of Vladimir's revolutionary activities.<sup>154</sup>

N.E. Fedoseev was one of the first Marxists in Russia.<sup>155</sup> Anna edited the collection of reminiscences about him, included her own article and ensured that Lenin, who had admired Fedoseev, even if he had not always agreed with him, also contributed to this collection. This in itself makes the book almost unique, for Vladimir rarely wrote reminiscences. Anna proof-read his article, chastising him at one point for being 'too vague', and, unusually, Lenin had 'no objections' to the changes.<sup>156</sup> Anna's own article gave a good insight into the early workings of the Social-Democrats, their attempts to establish an illegal printing press and the ways in which revolutionaries supported each other in prison and exile.<sup>157</sup>

Anna also used her connection with Lenin to help strengthen the position of Istpart, as well as improve the resources available to it.



When she joined the department, Istpart was under the control of Narkompros and somewhat neglected, having only one room from which to operate.<sup>158</sup> While Ol'minskii argued that these poor working conditions were useful because they ensured that people only joined Istpart out of 'principled considerations' and not as 'careerists', Anna countered that this was too idealistic.<sup>159</sup> If Istpart was to attract 'qualified workers', it had to be properly resourced.<sup>160</sup> Anna's solution was to have Istpart transferred from Narkompros to be supervised instead by the Central Committee and she turned to Lenin to ensure this was done. Although Vladimir continued to believe that Istpart should not move because he did not want the Central Committee to 'swell with various institutions', he agreed to let Anna go ahead with her plans since the situation was 'clearer' to her, and the transfer was completed successfully.<sup>161</sup>

Anna retired from Istpart in 1926, but continued to write histories and memoirs of the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1927, she published a collection of reminiscences, including her own, about her brother Aleksandr, entitled *Aleksandr Il'ich Ul'ianov and the Case of 1 March 1887*. It was to some extent affected by the Party's increasing control over Istpart (helped no doubt by the fact that it was now under Central Committee supervision). Anna could only hint at the continuity between Aleksandr's political ideology and Lenin's, since by 1927, Lenin's initial steps into revolutionary activity were defined by Mariia's assertion that Vladimir had rejected Aleksandr's ideas and terrorist tactics in favour of a new type of revolutionary struggle. Yet, because Aleksandr's life was not of key concern to Istpart, Anna was also able to give a more open account of his political views and the real ideological situation then. The collection made clear that there was a transition period between the collapse of the populist People's Will and the emergence of the RSDRP in which the boundaries between the two movements were blurred. Kudelli too recognised and pointed out the difference between Anna's writing about Aleksandr, which was a 'serious contribution to historical-revolutionary literature' and her 'popular' work on Lenin.<sup>162</sup>

Anna was also prepared to protect her work from the editors at Istpart. In 1930, Anna complained about the way in which her article on the founding of Istpart for *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* had been edited, writing:

If some youth, considering herself an 'executive' editor, doesn't understand that I was editing when she was knee-high to a

grasshopper, then I suggest that an elder must instil this in her before giving her 'responsibility'. I demand that my article must go in as it was handed over by me, *without a single correction or not at all*. In the future I will refuse to hand over any kind of material to such an 'editor'.<sup>163</sup>

Although Anna opted for a quieter life in her transfer to Istpart, her work was of use in the political campaigns of the day but also in the early construction of what would become the official history of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union. Yet, as ever, Anna did not adhere to the Party line strictly and some of the material she produced is of great value today. Anna and Vladimir enjoyed a good working relationship in which she supported his campaign against Bukharin and he supported her in her efforts to increase the attention paid by the Party to Istpart's work. Although Anna's career at Istpart was short, her belief in the importance and relevance of historical research was longer lasting.

## Family life

During the early years of the Soviet regime, Anna, Mariia and Vladimir were able to work closely together on political matters in a way that had been impossible before the revolution. Indeed, this was the first occasion since their teenage years that they had been able to settle and live together in the same place for more than a few months at a time. The threat of arrest was finally lifted from them, and, while they had never been poor, the Ul'ianovs also enjoyed a greater level of privilege than they had ever had before. Mariia lived in a Kremlin flat with her brother and Nadezhda, while Anna's flat on Manezhnii Prospect was, in her own words, 'a treasure'.<sup>164</sup>

Nonetheless, the Ul'ianovs continued to live modestly. Of course, no one was exempt from the hardships of the civil war years, and Anna and Mariia suffered the fuel, food and other shortages like everyone else.<sup>165</sup> Later, however, the Ul'ianov family did not hoard their wealth nor maintain a luxurious lifestyle. In terms of salaries, Vladimir was determined that government officials would keep their pay on a par with the wages of skilled workers.<sup>166</sup> Anna donated the family silver to the famine appeal of 1921 and pledged the royalties from her short biography of Lenin to the appeal to help *besprizorniki*.<sup>167</sup> S.B. Brichkina, a colleague of the Ul'ianovs, remembered that 'often the Ul'ianov family had none of the basic, essential food-stuffs for the table'.<sup>168</sup>

Nonetheless, the Ul'ianovs did enjoy certain privileges not available to the average Soviet citizen. All the Ul'ianovs had use of a car and chauffeur to drive them to work (Gora remembered Nadezhda dropping him off at school in hers), Anna was always able to go to rest homes in Russia and abroad, where she was well cared for, and all were able to travel around Russia without difficulty.<sup>169</sup> In 1921, for example, Lenin arranged a special railway carriage, attached to a military train, to take Mariia, Bukharin and his wife, and others to the Crimea.<sup>170</sup> These privileges were minor in comparison to the luxury enjoyed by Soviet officials in later years, but they were still greater than most of the population could expect. They were enough to attract bandits: Vladimir and Mariia were held at gunpoint by a gang in 1919.<sup>171</sup>

In terms of the running of the household, little changed, except perhaps that each woman had less time than before for chores due to her government post. As soon as possible Mariia and Nadezhda hired a housekeeper, but they often still took responsibility for bringing Vladimir his lunch, as did Anna from time to time.<sup>172</sup> It has been suggested that housekeeping caused such disagreement between Mariia and Nadezhda, even when the two women were at work, that Nadezhda gave up her initial role as member of the Central Committee Secretariat to devote herself to educational and Party work in the Vyborg area.<sup>173</sup> The two women did have very different approaches to running the household. Mariia was a good cook, while Nadezhda had sometimes relied on help from her mother and advice from her sisters-in-law about recipes.<sup>174</sup> Nadezhda admitted in her memoirs: 'I was not much of a housekeeper; Il'ich was of a different mind, but people who were accustomed to seeing a house run properly were extremely critical of my facile approach.'<sup>175</sup> These 'people' could have included Mariia. In later years, Mariia put much of Vladimir's ill health down to the poor diet he had abroad.<sup>176</sup> This may well have been a swipe at Nadezhda, though it would also seem to be entirely natural to try to find some long term cause of Vladimir's illness and many émigrés suffered health problems as a result of their poor diets abroad.

However, these anecdotes are less significant in themselves than what they imply. They suggest that women revolutionaries were still expected (by women, as well as men) to be skilled in domestic work, even though Bolshevik policy, particularly in the 1920s, aimed to emancipate women from the kitchen. These anecdotes have survived because historians have always taken an interest the sisters' private lives instead of their political activities, particularly in their alleged disputes with Nadezhda. Despite the prominence of such stories, domestic

questions did not dominate Mariia and Nadezhda's lives. In the case of Nadezhda's transfer to the Vyborg district, there were two far more important factors in determining her move. Firstly, she felt she had been demoted when she joined the Secretariat, from Lenin's right-hand woman, to just one of a larger department with few official duties of her own.<sup>177</sup> Secondly, she was elected to the Vyborg district council and was happy, after so many years abroad, to return to the activist work with which she had begun her revolutionary career.<sup>178</sup>

Mariia, Nadezhda and Vladimir's private lives seem to have continued as before. Although they had less time together due to their own busy schedules, whenever possible they would take drives into the countryside together to relax and one year, they spent the Christmas period together in Finland.<sup>179</sup> Anna remained in close contact with her brother and sister, talking to Vladimir every day on the telephone and popping in to the *Pravda* offices to see Mariia.<sup>180</sup>

Anna also continued to mother the youngsters of the family, helping to look after Dmitrii's children, Viktor and Ol'ga, and Mark's teenage great-niece, Pushkova, as well as Gora.<sup>181</sup> Pushkova remembered a strict household in which Anna tried to train her wards in cultured and polite behaviour. Anna's efforts were not immediately successful and privately she used to call Pushkova the '*enfant terrible*'.<sup>182</sup> Indeed, it



Figure 6 Mariia, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaja and Dmitrii



*Figure 7* Mariia and Nadezhda, 1936

seems that Anna was irritated by Pushkova's provincial ways in the same way as she had been exasperated by her husband's blunt manner. Nonetheless, Anna pulled strings so that her difficult ward received a job in Moscow, at a time, as Pushkova admits, when many were

unemployed.<sup>183</sup> She also saw to it that Gora received a good education and found a job.

Family life was not without sadness though during this period. Shortly after the Bolshevik seizure of power, Mariia received word that Stanislav Krzhizhanovskii had died in the Caucasus and in 1919, Anna was widowed.<sup>184</sup> Despite feeling unwell, Mark had travelled to Petrograd on business and to attend the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the city's university, of which he was a graduate. His condition, which was diagnosed as typhus, deteriorated rapidly and he passed away on 10 March.<sup>185</sup> He was buried in Volkovo Cemetery. Anna never wrote in great detail about her private life and she did not publish any works about Mark after he passed away. However, on the tenth anniversary of his death, she had a memorial erected in his honour.<sup>186</sup>

Lenin's health was also becoming a worry to the family. In August 1918, an assassination attempt had been made on Lenin. He survived the two bullet wounds he sustained, but the bullets were not removed and he suffered ill health from then on. Mariia and Nadezhda both made efforts to care for Vladimir. It was they who first asked Stasova to 'put through a resolution of the Central Committee by telephone ordering Lenin to take a vacation' and Vladimir told a doctor in 1919 that Mariia always tried to make sure he rested.<sup>187</sup> In April 1922, Vladimir was operated on to remove one of the bullets from the 1918 attack and during his convalescence the following month, he suffered a stroke. Although initially he made a good recovery, the series of strokes he suffered in December worsened his condition once more. In March 1923, another stroke left him partially paralysed and unable to speak. The months leading to Vladimir's death were to be ones of great distress for the Ul'ianovs and heralded the end of the secure and stable political careers of Anna and Mariia.

After the Bolshevik seizure of power, the Ul'ianovs had worked more closely together than ever before and had been a powerful political alliance within the government. Anna and Mariia had made their own significant contributions to the transformation of Russian society. Anna had helped to establish a system for caring for homeless and orphaned children, which in the face of catastrophic social upheaval helped thousands of youngsters to find respite and care, while Mariia had pioneered the Rabkor movement, which gave the increasingly literate worker and peasant population a means of expression. Although they had not relied on Vladimir to get their positions as head of the DPC and executive secretary of *Pravda*, Anna and Mariia's link to Lenin

had enabled them to use the system for political and private purposes. Vladimir's illness and incapacitation meant that the Ul'ianov support network was weakened politically. In the coming years, Anna and Mariia, more than ever, had to negotiate their paths in the political arena independently.

# 5

## The New Order

Of the two sisters, it was Mariia who most felt the impact of Vladimir's collapse. It was she who cut back her hours at *Pravda* to help care for him and moved with Nadezhda to the country estate, Gorki, which had been given to Lenin for his convalescence. It was also Mariia who dealt with the political consequences of Vladimir's incapacitation and death. Anna regularly visited Vladimir at Gorki, yet she was not involved in nursing her brother on a daily basis and while Stalin's rise to power after Vladimir's death affected Anna's career, it did not threaten it. By 1922 Anna was sixty-two, exhausted and often ill herself, and although she continued to work at Istpart, she was not drawn into the power struggles of the later 1920s.

McNeal argues that Anna was deliberately kept away from Gorki, referring to a letter in which Nadezhda wrote to Inessa Armand's daughter: 'Things aren't that bad with us [at Gorki] [...] They have definitely called off the sister.'<sup>1</sup> McNeal suggests that Krupskaja, who 'never did get along with Anna', convinced the doctors to prevent her from living at Gorky on the grounds that she would grate on 'Lenin's nerves'.<sup>2</sup> Stites dismisses this, writing: '[McNeal] seems to forget that the word *sestra* means nurse as well as sister in Russian and gets himself into an unreal problem because of this.'<sup>3</sup> In fact the hand-written letter reads: 'They have finally cancelled the *sisters*.'<sup>4</sup> That the following line refers to doctors supports my own understanding and Stites' that Nadezhda was referring to the nursing staff, rather than to Anna.<sup>5</sup> Although Anna did not move out to Gorki, she visited her brother often and took a close interest in his health.

Mariia's role in caring for Vladimir is often mentioned in biographies of Lenin, even though she rarely features in descriptions of the earlier years of Lenin's leadership. What tends to be of interest to historians is



Mariia's apparent rivalry with Nadezhda. Service notes that there were numerous arguments between the two women and argues that they were 'fighting for possession of Lenin'.<sup>6</sup> This is a noticeable change in the portrayal of Ul'ianov family relations. In discussions of the years before 1917 Anna is identified as Nadezhda's rival, while there is little suggestion that Mariia and Nadezhda had a poor relationship.<sup>7</sup> However, in descriptions of Lenin's last years and the period after his death, Mariia is portrayed as being implacably hostile towards Nadezhda.<sup>8</sup>

Certainly there are witnesses to Mariia and Nadezhda's disagreements.<sup>9</sup> This is not unusual behaviour when caring for an ailing loved one, yet most commentators do not take into account, as Beryl Williams does, the intense strain that this causes, both because of the distress of witnessing the loved one's decline, but also because of the disruption and isolation it creates in the carer's life.<sup>10</sup> In August 1922, while Vladimir was recovering, slowly, from his first stroke, Mariia wrote to Anna apologising that her letters were so 'boring'; she had nothing to write about because she had 'little variety' in her life at Gorki.<sup>11</sup> Mariia and Nadezhda were also under considerable pressure because no one, including the doctors, could agree on how best to treat Vladimir and they themselves had different ideas about the most suitable way to care for him. While Nadezhda was happy to allow Vladimir some access to newspapers and to meet colleagues, Mariia wanted to keep her brother's access to political news and the number of visitors he received to a minimum.<sup>12</sup> She would take the same attitude when caring for Anna in later years.

What is problematic with the portrayal of Mariia and Nadezhda's disputes is the interpretation that they were fighting for possession of Lenin, which is influenced by the solar system myth. Perhaps the two were not fighting *over* Vladimir, but rather were simply fighting with each other. Indeed, their relationship may also have been strained because they found themselves on opposite sides in political intrigues.

## The eye of the storm

From 1922, as his health deteriorated, politics were conducted around Lenin, and Stalin, as General Secretary, began to emerge as the key figure directing and controlling the manoeuvring. During these years, Mariia's working relationship with her brother changed, as she increasingly took Stalin's side over the best way to deal with issues relating to her brother's illness and his efforts to influence Party policy

from his sickbed. Mariia supported the view that Vladimir's access to political news and the number of visitors he received should be kept to a minimum so as not to distress or exhaust him. Similarly, Stalin was working to ensure that Lenin be as little involved in politics as possible and tried to have information about current affairs withheld from him.<sup>13</sup> However, Vladimir was intensely frustrated by this sheltering and Nadezhda supported him in his insistence that he must be allowed to work. She read newspapers to him and told him about the political situation. Things came to a head when Stalin discovered that Nadezhda had taken a dictation from Vladimir in the form of a letter to Trotsky on the issue of foreign trade. He telephoned her and berated her for her actions.<sup>14</sup> When Vladimir found out about what had happened he threatened to break off personal relations with Stalin and amended the letter on the reorganisation of the Central Committee (Lenin's so-called Last Testament), which he was preparing for the Twelfth Party Congress, adding a section which criticised Stalin for his rudeness.<sup>15</sup>

Despite being aware of Nadezhda and Vladimir's distress at the incident, Mariia took Stalin's side. When, having received Lenin's letter rebuking him, Stalin called Mariia to his office and asked her to pass on his love and apologies to Lenin, Mariia believed this to be a genuine attempt at reconciliation.<sup>16</sup> And despite, what she described as Lenin's 'sneers' at Stalin's message, Mariia 'felt sorry' for Stalin.<sup>17</sup>

This was not the only time that Mariia supported Stalin when he faced criticism from her brother. On 23 January 1923, Mariia delivered Lenin's article 'How We Should Reorganise the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate' to *Pravda* for publication. However, Bukharin, with Stalin's agreement, would not allow the article to be published because it contained an attack on Stalin, and Mariia accepted his decision. In the end the article was printed two days later, for they knew that Lenin could not be deceived about whether or not it had been published, but the line criticising Stalin was omitted.<sup>18</sup>

Another instance involved Lenin's letter to the Twelfth Party Congress entitled 'The Question of Nationalities or "Autonomisation"', in which he criticised Stalin's attitude towards the nationalities and accused him of being spiteful and hasty.<sup>19</sup> By the eve of the Congress, in April 1923, Lenin's condition was very poor and he could no longer speak. Stalin hoped he could keep the letter secret and began corresponding about the issue with L.B. Kamenev, Fotieva, who was one of Lenin's secretaries but who also appears to have been in close contact with Stalin throughout this time, and Mariia.<sup>20</sup> When Kamenev approached Fotieva on this matter, she expressed doubts about what

Lenin's intentions were for the letter. Although Fotieva made it clear that Lenin was 'making preparations to speak about it at the Party Congress', she was unsure if it was ready for publication.<sup>21</sup> Fotieva then approached Mariia and reported to Stalin that Mariia had answered that 'if there was no direct order from V.I. to publish this article, it should not be published', but 'members of the Congress should be informed about it'.<sup>22</sup>

And so it was resolved. It was decided that Lenin's letter should be made known to the Council of Elders, that the Congress' Presidium members would pass on this information to Congress delegates and finally that Lenin's letter would not be published.<sup>23</sup> Later, in 1925, Stalin defended himself and the Politburo against accusations, by the left-wing journalist Max Eastman, of foul play in not publishing Lenin's article on the national question by citing Mariia's advice on the matter. He argued: 'The C[entral] C[ommittee] could not help but take into account that Lenin's sister, Mariia Ul'ianova, who had Lenin's article, did not deem its publication necessary.'<sup>24</sup> In both these matters, Mariia's indirect and direct contribution enabled Stalin to fulfill his goal of the suppression of Lenin's various articles that attacked him.

Also suppressed was Lenin's Last Testament, which called for Stalin's removal from the post of General Secretary, but also highlighted the unsuitability of other key Bolsheviks to lead the Party, including G.E. Zinov'ev, Kamenev, Trotsky and Bukharin. Stalin prevented the reading of the Testament at the Twelfth Congress and thought that he had successfully had the only copy destroyed.<sup>25</sup> However, Nadezhda also had a copy and submitted it to the Central Committee after Lenin's death, requesting that it be discussed at the Thirteenth Party Congress in May 1924. The Testament was read out at closed sessions to groups of delegates, but they were not allowed to take notes, and the Testament was not to be discussed at the plenary meeting.

Mariia was not involved in the decision to limit the distribution and discussion of the Testament, but she did continue to support Stalin, despite attempts by left-wing critics of the regime to win her support. During this period, various groupings attacked the lack of intra-party democracy. One such faction was the Workers' Group. It had been formed in 1923 by G.I. Miasnikov, a metal worker from the Urals, long serving Bolshevik and vitriolic critic of the increasingly dictatorial nature of the regime. He had been expelled from the Party at the Eleventh Party Congress in 1922 for his oppositional activities and connections to the Workers' Opposition, an earlier left-wing faction in the Party, but he had continued his campaign, publishing a manifesto

of the Workers' Group and recruiting supporters. Lenin had initially tried to persuade Miasnikov to accept the Party line and cease his factional activities, but when he failed had led the efforts to suppress the Workers' Group using the secret police. Miasnikov was arrested.<sup>26</sup> In May 1924, after Lenin's death, representatives of the Workers' Group circulated a plea to Soviet newspapers, including *Pravda*, to publish a letter by Miasnikov which would help in the campaign to end the repression of members of the Group and bring about reform in the regime. The letter's author, V. Rumynov, added a hand-written note to Mariia which, though it accused of her of 'bureaucratic' behaviour, asked her to take up the case personally.<sup>27</sup> Rumynov wrote:

In the name of the cause which you and I serve [...] I ask you not to throw these letters in the bin [...but] to fight for the truth [*pravda*], especially as you work at *Pravda*. You have enough of a reputation and the authority for this...<sup>28</sup>

In the first example of her refusal to support factional activities, Mariia did not lend her support to the Workers' Group. Nor did she join the Left Opposition of Trotsky, the signers of the Declaration of the Forty-Six and their supporters who, in part inspired by the Workers' Group, criticised the lack of intra-party democracy. Instead, Mariia continued to have a close working relationship with Stalin.

In the same way that Vladimir had, Stalin communicated informally with Mariia about *Pravda* matters, giving her instructions as to what the content of the newspaper should be.<sup>29</sup> It seems that this relationship was mutual: Mariia could turn to Stalin for help in *Pravda* matters. In March 1925, she sent a letter to him asking for his help in resolving a conflict within the newspaper about a member of staff.<sup>30</sup> Some employees of *Pravda* had discovered that one of their colleagues, Natal'ia Pilatskaia, was married to a former *agent provocateur*, who had operated before the revolution. According to Mariia, the *agent provocateur* had been a naïve young revolutionary who had made a deal with the police to escape prison and had never in fact operated as an agent. More importantly, though he had been tried and imprisoned by the Cheka, he had been amnestied by Dzerzhinskii and the Presidium of All-Russian Central Executive Committee. When Pilatskaia's connection had been discovered, Mariia, Bukharin and others vouched for their colleague at the Central Control Commission. Mariia warned Stalin that this matter was damaging *Pravda's* reputation, especially because the opposition were spreading the rumour in Moscow that the

newspaper was protecting a *provocateur*. She also worried that she and Bukharin would be reported to the Central Control Commission for supporting Pilatskaia and objected to having to hear an accusation that she 'shelter[ed] a "*provocateur*"', not least because of her long service to the Party.<sup>31</sup>

Later, in the run up to the Fourteenth Party Congress in December that year, there was 'daily communication between *Pravda*, the Central Committee, the Moscow Committee and the regions' to coordinate the campaign against the opposition.<sup>32</sup> Delegations of *Pravda*'s editorial staff were sent out to factories and clubs to reinforce the Central Committee's line. One *Pravda* worker, S. Evgenov, recalled that the newspaper was 'at the centre of the struggle with the opposition'.<sup>33</sup>

The composition of the opposition had changed somewhat by 1925. Trotsky did not participate in the movement during this year and instead it was led by Zinov'ev and Kamenev, who had turned against Stalin, as well as by Krupskaja and G.Ia. Sokol'nikov, People's Commissar of Finance. The so-called New Opposition made their criticisms of the Party at the Fourteenth Congress which convened in December 1925. One of the key issues on the political agenda that year was the New Economic Policy, with the Party divided over whether to continue with a gradual approach to industrialisation or whether to push forward more rapidly with the transition to communist economic policies, especially by using more forceful attacks on the kulaks. The New Opposition favoured the latter approach. They were also critical of Stalin's growing control over the Party. When Nadezhda opened the opposition's speeches, it was clearly part of a deliberate tactic to highlight that even Lenin's closest comrade had doubts about the Party's line. Although Krupskaja argued against anyone trying to use Leninism to defend their views, she invoked Lenin's name to defend opposition groups within the Party.<sup>34</sup> She compared the current situation to the Stockholm Congress of 1906, when the '[Menshevik] majority was not correct' and implied that Bukharin's 'soft' approach to kulaks was similar to the 'soft' policies of the Mensheviks.<sup>35</sup>

Mariia also presented a speech at the Congress, but she made clear her support for Stalin and his key ally Bukharin. She opened her speech by denying that she was addressing the congress as Lenin's sister and continued:

I do not therefore pretend to have a better understanding and interpretation of Leninism than other members of the Party. I think that

such a monopoly on the best understanding and interpretation of Leninism by his relatives does not exist and must not exist.<sup>36</sup>

Although she voiced her support for Stalin's assertion that the Party was 'cultivating an ideological attitude' of its own, she proceeded to argue that the Party had lost an irreplaceable leader in Lenin, 'a true leader of the proletariat, [...] a leader who would appear only once for many hundreds of years'.<sup>37</sup> She added, 'we do not have another person in whom we can boundlessly believe' and argued that the Party had to act collectively to decide its policies.<sup>38</sup> Mariia reminded the Congress how much Lenin disliked dispute within the Party and though she admitted that even Lenin would sanction splits if the question was related to fundamental principles, she argued that there were no such principles at stake at this Congress. A comparison with the Stockholm Congress was 'harmful, dangerous' since the Fourteenth Party Congress was facing only a 'comparatively small disagreement'.<sup>39</sup> She called for the opposition to submit to the Party's line and to end all factionalism.<sup>40</sup>

The following year, at the 1926 Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission, the issue of Lenin's Testament was used by the opposition to attack Stalin. At the Plenum, Zinov'ev raised the matter of Stalin's row with Krupskaja, over which Lenin had threatened to break off relations with the General Secretary. In response Mariia sent a letter to the Presidium of the Plenum in which she actively defended Stalin against the accusations that Lenin had made in his Testament about Stalin's rudeness and answered the suggestion that the two had broken off relations in the last days of Lenin's life. She wrote that Lenin had 'valued Stalin highly' and had seen him as 'a trusted person, [...] a true revolutionary [and] as a close friend'.<sup>41</sup> In her letter, Mariia wrote that Lenin's threatened break with Stalin was 'of a strictly personal nature and had nothing to do with politics' and reprimanded Zinov'ev for mentioning it.<sup>42</sup> She gave a neutral account of the incident in which Stalin's rebuke was made to the whole Ul'ianov family and not only to Krupskaja. Mariia gave no indication of the severity of Stalin's reprimand and argued that Vladimir had over-reacted in response to the incident due to his 'very grave condition'.<sup>43</sup> She pointed out that Stalin had apologised and asserted that the matter had been resolved.<sup>44</sup>

In December 1927, Mariia attended the Fifteenth Party Congress, and although she did not give a speech at it, it was clear she still supported the Stalinist camp. At the first meeting she was the fifth person

nominated to the editorial committee and her nomination was met with applause.<sup>45</sup> At the sixth meeting, Kamenev protested that he had completely relinquished his ties with the opposition and that he had presented the Central Committee with a declaration signed by 3000 people, who had also left the opposition.<sup>46</sup> At that moment, Mariia shouted, 'remove half', implying, presumably, that Kamenev's claims were exaggerated.<sup>47</sup> During the eighth meeting, Mariia heckled I.P. Bakaev, who was amongst those to be expelled from the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission for 'fractional activities'.<sup>48</sup> When Bakaev accused the Party and Bukharin of not presenting anything new regarding Party policy towards the peasantry and for not addressing the issue of the kulaks, Mariia interrupted, shouting 'And the theses?'.<sup>49</sup> Here she was implying that if Bakaev read V.M. Molotov's theses on work in the countryside, in which he proposed 'a further strengthening of planned action on the peasant economy and a more decisive offensive against the kulak', Bakaev would find the answers to his accusations.<sup>50</sup>

Historians writing about these incidents, particularly the events of the Fourteenth Party Congress, have tended to follow Trotsky's interpretation of events and have viewed them as a personal battle between Mariia and Nadezhda, rather than a political one. Mariia's actions have been seen as a manifestation of her poor attitude to her sister-in-law and her motives are put down to the petty jealousies she harboured against Nadezhda over Vladimir. Trotsky wrote:

In taking care of V.I., [Mariia] vied with N.K. Krupskaja [...] Ul'ianova's jealousy was strengthened by her narrowness and fanaticism, and also by her rivalry with Krupskaja, who consistently and firmly refused to act against her conscience.<sup>51</sup>

Kumanev argues that, during the 1920s, Mariia's 'attitude' to Nadezhda was 'not notable for its sufficient correctness' (in contrast to Krupskaja's attitude to her).<sup>52</sup> In particular, Kumanev criticises an account of Lenin's last months, his relations with Stalin and Trotsky, and of Krupskaja's row with Stalin which Mariia wrote later (though it is not clear when) in a non-descript jotter and which remained unpublished until 1989.<sup>53</sup> Mariia's description of Nadezhda's behaviour is not flattering. Of Nadezhda telling Vladimir about political events, she wrote: '[Nadezhda] was so used to sharing everything with him, that sometimes she would blab [things] out, absolutely involuntarily'.<sup>54</sup> On Nadezhda's reaction to Stalin's 'fairly harsh' row, Mariia added:

'Nadezhda was extremely agitated after this conversation: she was absolutely not herself, sobbed, rolled on the floor and so on.'<sup>55</sup> Kumanev argues that this is 'psychologically implausible', that Nadezhda would never have behaved in this manner, points to several other inaccuracies about the sequence of events and accuses Mariia of relying on 'conjecture'.<sup>56</sup>

The argument that Mariia waged a personal campaign against Nadezhda is unconvincing. At the Fourteenth Party Congress, Mariia did not follow Nadezhda immediately to the podium as many secondary sources imply, but spoke a day later.<sup>57</sup> Her comment about not speaking as Lenin's sister may have been as much a defence of her own speech as an attack on Krupskaja, and in fact in her speech she made only one clear reference to Nadezhda, when she rebutted the Stockholm comparison. Even then she did not refer to her sister-in-law by name.<sup>58</sup> In fact, Mariia's speech was conciliatory in tone, playing down the differences between the two sides and calling for collective action.

Mariia's letter to the 1926 Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission did give a different, more neutral version of the events surrounding Nadezhda's clash with Stalin than Krupskaja had given. This might have created the impression that Nadezhda had exaggerated the severity of the incident, but perhaps Mariia gave the neutral account to protect Nadezhda from an intrusion into the Ul'ianovs' privacy. Indeed, the main thrust of Mariia's attack was on Zinov'ev for using the private incident for political purposes.

Mariia wrote her later testimony to explain what she by then viewed as her mistaken support of Stalin (as will be discussed below), not to undermine Nadezhda. Mariia's errors can perhaps be put down to the passage of time and her conjectures may have seemed plausible to her, even if Kumanev dismisses them (or were merely idle conclusions drawn in the safety of the knowledge that they would not be made public). Certainly Mariia's portrayal of Nadezhda blabbing out information is not flattering, but that does not necessarily make it untrue. Valentinov observed that Krupskaja had a habit of innocently revealing personal information about Vladimir that he did not wish to be known.<sup>59</sup> Similarly, though Mariia's description of Nadezhda sobbing seems a little extreme, she did make it clear that Nadezhda was not herself. Even Krupskaja admitted that her nerves were 'strained to the utmost' at this time.<sup>60</sup> Nor was it unusual for Stalin to be rude and aggressive, and to cause emotional responses in his victims: he reduced Mariia to tears on at least one occasion.<sup>61</sup> Above all, Mariia's testimony



was a private and personal record, and not published until 1989. As such, Nadezhda may never have seen it.

Nonetheless, it is hard not to wonder, as McNeal does, how 'the political tensions between Nadezhda and Mariia [...] reacted in their private lives'.<sup>62</sup> Anna herself asked if Mariia and Nadezhda were getting along when she wrote to her sister in 1926: 'You have been silent [recently] and my heart is troubled [...] Are you and the others well? How are relations with Nadia? Knowing her, I hope you're not taking anything too close to heart.'<sup>63</sup> Mariia replied, however: 'At ours, relations with N[adezhda] are as they were, it's no problem, for we almost never talk about political themes.'<sup>64</sup> A friend and colleague of Mariia's from *Pravda*, Evgenov, observed this avoidance of political disputes in Mariia and Nadezhda's relationship. He wrote the following:

They were friends, but there was a very obvious difference between their characters. Mariia Il'inichna was somehow more hardened [...] She was more in touch with reality and more experienced in worldly matters. To Nadezhda Konstantinovna she showed courtesy, but also an unobtrusive thoughtfulness; she gave her [sister-in-law] priority in conversation and listened to her attentively. Nadezhda Konstantinovna loved to chat. She didn't hide the fact that she was out of touch on various practical issues and sometimes even teased herself for it.<sup>65</sup>

Evgenov also wrote that Mariia often humoured Nadezhda's more naïve statements, without 'getting into an argument' with her.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, during the Fourteenth Party Congress and after, both women kept their disagreements political and not personal. The two continued to live together, and although they went on separate trips in 1926, Mariia was still in touch with Krupskaia, and by 1927 they were holidaying together once more, as they would throughout the rest of their lives.<sup>67</sup> They even co-operated in other political arenas. In May 1926, for example, Nadezhda spoke at the Third All-Union Conference of Rabkors.<sup>68</sup>

Nonetheless, in August 1927, Mariia was pleased to note that she and Nadezhda were coming to agreement on political matters. She wrote to Anna: 'Our meeting in Moscow is nearing an end. Nadia conducted herself very well, absolutely not like last year. In general I think that there will be some kind of "agreement" again.'<sup>69</sup> Here Mariia is referring to the August Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission at which Nadezhda recanted, criticising the

opposition and all its key principles. She was applauded several times by Stalin's supporters.<sup>70</sup>

Those who do not put Mariia's actions down to personal reasons alone still tend not to allow that she acted of her own volition and in accordance with her political views. Rather, they argue, she was manipulated into supporting Stalin by the male politicians around her. A typical example of this type of description is Trotsky's:

In [Lenin's] lifetime [Mariia] remained completely in the background: nobody spoke about her [...] After his death she emerged into the limelight, or rather she was forced to do so. Through the editorial offices of *Pravda* [...] Ul'ianova was closely connected with Bukharin. She fell under his influence and in his wake was drawn into the struggle against the Opposition [...] At the beginning of 1926 Krupskaja [...] joined the Opposition [...] At that precise moment, the Stalin-Bukharin faction was trying every means of elevating M. Ul'ianova's standing and significance to counter-balance Krupskaja.<sup>71</sup>

Certain elements of Trotsky's explanation ring true: Mariia had a close relationship with Bukharin, and both he and Stalin would have been aware that Mariia was an effective foil to Nadezhda. Yet, this explanation does not recognise Mariia's political standing before Lenin's death, and more importantly, ignores the fact that Mariia had worked closely with Stalin and Bukharin from the time of Lenin's illness. It does not make clear that the events of 1926 were the culmination of this cooperation. Above all, in Trotsky's version of events, Mariia is allowed neither political views of her own nor the ability to act on her own behalf.

Others have supported this view. Kumanev explains Mariia's behaviour as a result of 'usual female weakness'.<sup>72</sup> By the mid-1920s, he argues, Mariia had 'already begun to make her contribution to the mythologising of Stalin i.e. [she] had moved to a position of [...] reverence before him'.<sup>73</sup> Buranov argues that when Mariia wrote her letter to the 1926 Plenum in defence of Stalin, it was because Stalin had put 'pressure' on her, implying that Mariia did not choose to write the letter for her own reasons.<sup>74</sup>

It is difficult to believe that Mariia, who had been at the centre of revolutionary politics for over thirty years by this time, joined the Stalin-Bukharin camp purely because she was weak and easily influenced. It is noticeable that Nadezhda is always portrayed as an

independent political figure in this episode.<sup>75</sup> This may be related to the fact that Krupskaja was on the 'correct' side, opposing Stalin. It seems to be inconceivable to historians that anyone, particularly a woman and more importantly Lenin's sister and Krupskaja's sister-in-law, might choose Stalin's side. Perhaps putting Mariia's decisions down to a personal grudge against her sister-in-law and manipulation by stronger forces is a way of abrogating her responsibility.

Yet Mariia did hold her own considered opinion and her later, private testimony sheds light on it. In it Mariia conceded she did not tell 'the whole truth' about Lenin's attitude towards Stalin and tried to redress this, admitting that her brother's judgement of the General Secretary was correct.<sup>76</sup> Mariia noted that both Stalin and Trotsky were 'extremely ambitious and intolerant', that only 'V.I.'s authority was a restraining factor for them' and added:

V.I. valued Stalin as a practical worker, but thought it essential to find some means of restraining his idiosyncrasies and his oddities, on account of which he thought that Stalin should be removed from the post of Gensek. He said so specifically in his political testament.<sup>77</sup>

Although Mariia listed a number of occasions when Vladimir was dissatisfied with Stalin, she asserted that it was only later that she herself understood that Vladimir genuinely disliked Stalin during his last days. She wrote:

With the passage of time, in weighing [Vladimir's reaction to Stalin's row with Nadezhda] with a number of V.I.'s pronouncements, as well as with Stalin's entire behaviour [and] his 'political' line after Lenin's death, I began more and more to realise Il'ich's real attitude towards Stalin during the last period of his life.<sup>78</sup>

This delay in truly appreciating Lenin's attitude towards Stalin is perhaps understandable, given Mariia's own productive working relationship with Stalin during the 1920s. In contrast, Mariia always appreciated why Vladimir, according to her, felt 'no liking' for Trotsky, with whom 'collective work' was 'extraordinarily difficult'.<sup>79</sup> Whatever Vladimir felt for Trotsky, Mariia clearly felt 'no liking' for him or his politics and she seems to have had no qualms about participating in the *Pravda* campaign against him. To Mariia, supporting Stalin was preferable to supporting Trotsky.

However, there seems to have been a second consideration, which informed Mariia's political decisions throughout the 1920s and after Trotsky had been expelled from the Party: Mariia was opposed to factionalism and believed strongly in the need for Party unity and collective leadership. This theme is apparent in all her speeches and writing of this period. At the Fourteenth Party Congress in 1925, Mariia spoke out against factionalism, pointing out how much Lenin had hated disputes in the Party, and she stressed the need for collective effort from the Party, arguing that no individual could replace Lenin as leader. In her later testimony, Mariia explained that she had written her letter to the Plenum of 1926 because she wanted to defend Stalin from the opposition's attacks, but also because she believed that the 'exclusively and primarily personal' incident of Stalin's row with Krupskaja was being wrongly used by the opposition 'for political purposes – and for factional purposes'.<sup>80</sup> She also stressed that Trotsky made collective work difficult. Finally, in a letter to an old colleague, A.I. Eramasov, Mariia criticised the opposition: 'They don't understand how much practical work there is now and what a pity it is to waste time on any squabble.'<sup>81</sup> To Mariia, the Stalin-Bukharin group represented the unified Party.

The third influence on Mariia's political views was her relationship with Bukharin. Bukharin and Mariia were old friends from the underground years as well as political colleagues.<sup>82</sup> They worked closely together at *Pravda* and in the Rabkor movement and shared the same political outlook, at least where the Worker Correspondent Movement was concerned. Bukharin was involved in all the incidents where Mariia supported Stalin. It was on Bukharin's initiative that Lenin's article on the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate was not published in full, and at the Fourteenth Party Congress, one of the main issue at stake was Bukharin's support for the New Economic Policy (NEP). That Mariia's support was mainly for Bukharin is shown by the fact that during this time photographs of her working with Bukharin at *Pravda* were 'prominently circulated' (i.e. rather than photographs of her with Stalin).<sup>83</sup> Bukharin also worked closely with Mariia in the composition of her letter to 1926 Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission.<sup>84</sup>

That Mariia's belief in the collective and her loyalty to Bukharin were stronger than her ties to Stalin is clear when the events of the late 1920s are taken into account. By the end of 1927, Kamenev, Zinov'ev and Trotsky had all been expelled from the Party, and Stalin began to turn against Bukharin, who was increasingly stigmatised as a Rightist.

However, Mariia continued to defend her *Pravda* colleague, making her own position precarious. The tension growing between Stalin and Mariia is clear in letters he sent to her about *Pravda*. For example, in November 1927, Stalin and Molotov complained about the 'intolerable muddle' in the coverage of the Theses for the Fifteenth Party Congress in *Pravda* and asked her to take 'severe measures' against those responsible.<sup>85</sup> When Stalin wrote to Mariia asking her to feature a piece by the poet Dem'ian Bednii in *Pravda*, Bukharin's reminder to her that it was 'politically advantageous' to agree and his warning not to 'get angry' show that even if though Mariia was no longer comfortable with Stalin's instructions, the situation was becoming too sensitive to refuse his request.<sup>86</sup>

In 1928 the situation deteriorated further, even though Mariia was enjoying successes as the leader of the Rabkor movement. Although the Fourth All-Union Conference of Rabsel'kors was organised carefully to avoid being seen as 'rightist or of any other deviation', with Mariia asserting that the Rabkor movement must help in the fight for the Party line against enemies, the controversy surrounding Bukharin was felt here too.<sup>87</sup> Now viewed as a leader of the Rightists, Bukharin's speech was greeted with 'scant' applause and those who did clap were noted.<sup>88</sup> When Stalin received a delegation of Rabkors on 4 December he refused to attend the Conference with them, saying:

The Central Committee has sent Bukharin to the Conference, whose line was our general line. Therefore for me to speak at the Conference with this line, to repeat comrade Bukharin's speech would not be of interest.<sup>89</sup>

In his book, Radzinsky refers to Stalin's use of 'in-depth language', that is apparently moderate or straightforward language from which others would decipher a more sinister message.<sup>90</sup> Having heard Stalin's statement, it seems that many realised that Bukharin was no longer in favour and few workers wished to co-operate with Bukharin at the Conference.<sup>91</sup> He was not re-elected to the editorial board of *Rabochekrest'ianskii korrespondent*.<sup>92</sup>

Mariia's association with Bukharin destroyed her relationship with Stalin and using in-depth language once more, he launched a smear campaign against her. Krupskaia had long lost Stalin's esteem, but now Mariia's relationship with Stalin worsened too. Khrushchev remembered that: 'Stalin had very little respect for [Nadezhda] and [Mariia]. He used to say that he didn't think either of these women was making

a positive contribution to the Party's struggle for victory.'<sup>93</sup> Soon, as Khrushchev put it: 'everyone was slinging mud at N.K. and M.I.'<sup>94</sup>

In 1928, the poet Filipchenko, who contributed to *Pravda* and conducted a long correspondence with Mariia, wrote to her: 'I heard troubling rumours about you in Moscow [...] Are you shaken? Have you lived through a catastrophe? What has happened? I hope that it will all work out.'<sup>95</sup> The smear campaign intensified over the next two years. Evgenov described the situation as follows:

The years 1929–1930 were very difficult for Mariia Il'inichna. She loved *Pravda* deeply, and she had to leave the newspaper [...] An oppressive atmosphere of suspicion and distrust was artificially created around Mariia Il'inichna. Such was one of the perfidious methods that were quite widespread in the period of the Stalin cult of personality. It was a reprisal, which, at times, was as injurious as the bringing of fictitious charges.<sup>96</sup>

Another *Pravda* colleague remembered that at the end of the 1920s, he found Mariia crying in her room. When he asked what was the matter, she 'fell silent and tried to smile' and replied: 'I was talking with a certain person.'<sup>97</sup> He added: 'With whom, I understood very well. We in the editorial board quietly said that soon Stalin would take our executive secretary from the editorial board.'<sup>98</sup>

This situation did not deter Mariia from supporting Bukharin. In 1929, there were calls for the key Rightists, Bukharin, A.I. Rykov and M.P. Tomskii, to be expelled from the Politburo of the Central Committee. Citing ill health, Mariia did not attend the Central Committee Plenum meeting that discussed this, but sent a letter voicing her protest.<sup>99</sup> The letter gives a clear picture of Mariia's political views. Mariia opposed the removal of these three members of the Politburo, referring directly to Lenin's Last Testament. She wrote:

Before his death, Vladimir Il'ich worried about the fate of our revolution and in his testament, giving the characteristics of individual leaders, warned that not one of the personalities and only collective work could provide the correct leadership of the Party.<sup>100</sup>

Mariia argued that discrediting and removing Bukharin, Tomskii and Rykov would only damage the collective leadership and undermine its ability to address the key questions facing it. She described the 'anxious letters' that had been received of late from the countryside,

where collectivisation was being implemented, in which people complained about 'the extreme measures, famine [...] and infringements of revolutionary legality', and from the towns, in which the public were worried about the 'food situation'.<sup>101</sup> Perhaps most damningly, Mariia asserted that Bukharin, Rykov and Tomskii were the only members of the Politburo who were facing up to the regime's problems and warned against the developing culture of 'hushing up or suppressing difficulties or dangers, and also taking excessive delight in achievements'.<sup>102</sup>

Mariia's letter was not, in fact, read out at the Plenum, because, according to the chair of the session, there was no call for the removal of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomskii from the Politburo in the draft resolution.<sup>103</sup> However, it is unlikely that Stalin was not made aware of Mariia's views. They certainly did not go unpunished. In June 1929, as her colleagues had anticipated, Mariia's position of executive secretary at *Pravda* was abolished by the Politburo and an editorial collegium was established to oversee daily work at *Pravda*.<sup>104</sup> Despite the Politburo's reassurances that Mariia would continue as a secretary of the editorial staff and a member of the editorial collegium, everyone knew that this was a means of ending her role at the newspaper.<sup>105</sup> Mariia also stopped working for the Rabkor movement. Although Mariia had been re-elected to the editorial board at the 1928 congress (the year Bukharin was rejected) and had continued leading Rabkor work, her career there was over too.<sup>106</sup> Evgenov implies in his testimony that this was through choice and in support of Bukharin, but in view of the fact that Mariia was removed from *Pravda* (a fact which he glosses over), it seems likely that she was forced out of the Rabkor board too.<sup>107</sup> There was also a witch-hunt of colleagues close to Mariia, with her co-workers being interrogated at Party organisation meetings about Mariia and about their political views.<sup>108</sup>

Mariia was transferred to the Lenin Institute to collect and edit Lenin's letters for publication, but her political disgrace followed her there. In 1930, Mariia was called to face the Party organisation of the Lenin Institute. In her first appearance, she confessed that she had been 'insufficiently decisive in leading the struggle with the right deviation'.<sup>109</sup> However, this confession did not satisfy the group, and Mariia had to answer its objections in a further meeting, including its criticism of her refusal to put in print her opposition to the right deviation.<sup>110</sup> In her reply she spoke at length about the correctness of the Party line and recognised that it was her 'duty [...] to lead the struggle with any deviation from the general line of the Party and above all with the right deviation'.<sup>111</sup> She also stated that it was the 'duty' of the

leader of the right deviation, Bukharin, to recant his 'mistaken views'.<sup>112</sup> Even though this time Mariia promised to struggle with the Rightists in every way she could, including using the printed word, the organisation was not convinced by Mariia's 'especially unsatisfactory speech' and resolved that:

By avoiding giving a direct answer to the question – are there rightist Kulak agents inside the Party? – and refusing to set out in print acknowledgements of her mistakes, and criticisms of the position of Bukharin, Rykov and others, Ul'ianova [...] remains in a position of compromise in relation to rightist views, which was recognised by the Congress as incompatible with remaining in the Party.<sup>113</sup>

Although Mariia was not removed from the Party and she was still able to participate in the Sixteenth Party Congress, her disgrace did affect her work at the Lenin Institute.<sup>114</sup> There is a letter to an M.A. at the Lenin Institute, in which Mariia complained about the constant changes in her room allocation (a room intended for herself and Nadezhda to use). She wrote: 'Until now you have shown me [attention], and I am very grateful to you for it. What now has changed?'<sup>115</sup>

Having publicly recanted his views, Bukharin was able to rebuild his career gradually, participating in Seventeenth Party Congress and becoming the editor of *Izvestiia* (News) in 1934. However, increasingly harsh measures were being taken against former oppositionists and in 1936 the first of a series of show trials were staged at which key members of the Party were falsely accused of treasonous crimes, found guilty and executed. In January 1937, allegations were made against Bukharin at the trial of seventeen Party members, including Sokol'nikov, who had been a member of the New Opposition, and now Bukharin himself faced investigation. At the 1937 Plenum of the Central Committee held in February, the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs (NKVD) N.I. Ezhov, who led the investigations and trials, accused Bukharin of lying when he claimed to have been with Lenin when he died. Bukharin turned to Nadezhda and Mariia and asked if that was correct. Neither replied and Bukharin was branded a liar.<sup>116</sup> Mariia spoke at that Plenum supporting the 'general chorus' against the wreckers and oppositionists that Stalin had announced were to be found in all sections of Soviet politics and the workforce.<sup>117</sup> Nevertheless, Bukharin told his wife that he had seen Mariia 'wipe away her tears with her handkerchief' at the second session of the Plenum, at which Bukharin was attacked by all.<sup>118</sup>



Stalin made Mariia and Nadezhda sit on the commission set up to decide Bukharin's and his co-defendant Rykov's fate.<sup>119</sup> Although most argued for the two men to be executed, Stalin suggested that they should be 'expel[led] [...] from the Central Committee and the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], but instead of committing them for trial pass the case to the NKVD for investigation'.<sup>120</sup> Mariia and Nadezhda supported Stalin.<sup>121</sup> Stalin's proposal was the most moderate of the commission, and perhaps Mariia and Krupskaya were relieved to be able to support what appeared to be a less harsh option. In reality, this course of action meant that Bukharin faced arrest and a long imprisonment during which he would be interrogated and tormented until he confessed to the crimes of which he was accused. Having experienced smear campaigns themselves and observed the worsening political situation, Mariia and Nadezhda may well have understood what Bukharin's fate was to be. Regardless of what the two women thought Stalin's suggestion meant, it is clear that they no longer felt they could oppose him.

Anna Larina, Bukharin's second wife, was told by the wife of another member of the commission that Mariia and Krupskaya had not attended the meetings since its 'vote was recorded by name'.<sup>122</sup> Larina continues: 'I have no confirmation of this, but it seems more than likely. Both women could surmise very well – indeed, they knew for a fact – that it was impossible to change a decision made by Stalin.'<sup>123</sup> Larina is correct that by now the women were under Stalin's control and acting out of fear for their own safety. Nadezhda told a friend: 'There are moments when I can see no-one of my close friends [...] For long years, Mania [Mariia] and I have sat here, locked away from each other.'<sup>124</sup>

Although Mariia was publicly deferential to Stalin's decisions, she continued to use her direct access to Stalin to attempt to overturn them privately. It seems that on two occasions Mariia approached Stalin to beg for the lives of her colleagues. This was one of the few ways in which people arrested could be saved in the Soviet Union and the practice of powerful individuals intervening on behalf of others was used from the earliest days after the revolution.<sup>125</sup> The writer Maxim Gorky, for example, had been dubbed the 'great interceder' for his efforts to rescue people from the Cheka.<sup>126</sup>

According to one witness, in August 1936 Mariia and Nadezhda went to Stalin to beg for the life of Zinov'ev and Kamenev, who were on trial. Anna Larina recounts the story, which was told to her by an old Bolshevik, Nikanorov, who had heard it from I. Makhanov, the chief

designer at the Kirov (Putilov) factory. Makhanov had been waiting outside Stalin's office and overheard a meeting going on inside. As Larina retells it:

Makhanov [...] could not hear everything in the conversation that followed, but through the shouting and swearing one sentence reached them distinctly. Stalin screamed, 'Who are you defending? You are defending murderers!' Then Mariia Il'inichna and Nadezhda Krupskaya were conducted out of the office by two men who had to brace them by the arms. Pale and shaking with emotion, the women were unable to walk by themselves.<sup>127</sup>

Larina wonders that the two women could not see that Stalin had instigated the show trials and is surprised that they turned to 'the criminal dictator himself'.<sup>128</sup> Mariia and Krupskaya may well have known that Stalin was responsible for the trial of Zinov'ev and Kamenev, and they used the only weapon at their disposal in their campaign to save the two men, that, as old-guard Bolsheviks who were intimately linked to Lenin, they were allowed a private interview with Stalin. In the end, as they must have recognised, he was the only one who could and would decide the fate of the two men. Although Larina does not seem to have known it, Mariia and Nadezhda are also said to have gone to Stalin to plead for Bukharin's life. Once again, however, Mariia and Nadezhda were shouted out of his office and were unable to save their friend.<sup>129</sup>

It is difficult to be sure that both incidents occurred. The only evidence for the meetings is second hand accounts; there are no records of them in Stalin's Kremlin visitor book.<sup>130</sup> It is also striking how similar the descriptions of the meetings are, except that where Stalin called Zinov'ev and Kamenev murderers, he branded Bukharin the 'most wicked enemy of the people'.<sup>131</sup> It is possible that only one meeting occurred, which went unrecorded in the visitor book, and of which different versions emerged. If indeed Mariia and Nadezhda returned a second time to Stalin's office, they were brave to do so.

## **The edge of the storm**

In 1925, Anna wrote to Mariia:

The [Fourteenth Party] Congress was dull in my opinion (and not only in my opinion). Having heard Molotov and Rykov's speeches,

I thought: 'Without Il'ich our Party hesitates and stammers.' Dzerzh[inskii] spoke with enthusiasm, but I only managed to hear his concluding words. Zinov'ev dragged on [...] The start wasn't bad, but in general he spoke worse than ever.<sup>132</sup>

Clearly, like her sister, Anna worried that Lenin was irreplaceable. Yet Anna's comments do not seem like the view of a sister being sentimental about a beloved brother, but rather a Party member evaluating the situation in a pragmatic manner and judging that no single Party figure seemed capable of taking over Lenin's role. However, unlike Mariia, though Anna continued to follow political events, she did not participate in the Party struggles of the late 1920s.

In 1926, Anna admitted to one comrade that due to her ill health she 'had not managed to fulfill his request as quickly as she would have liked', adding: 'to all intents and purposes I do not work at Istpart [any more] and take no part in the composition of editions of the journal.'<sup>133</sup> Indeed, Anna spent her last years in semi-retirement, enjoying a relaxed lifestyle. Yet she was always aware of and concerned about her sister's more stressful and work-dominated life. Anna wrote to Mariia from one rest home:

I do nothing. In the morning we stroll, after lunch sleep; then again stroll till dinner and see, now at ten, I write to you by the light of a candle end and it's soon, again, to bed. Try a little of such a regime my dear! Or your older sister will be ashamed to arrive in good health, while you are pale and exhausted.<sup>134</sup>

Anna seems to have missed her old political life and despite often being far from Moscow, she did her best to keep up with politics. However, it was difficult to find out news from home about the political situation. Anna's frustration at this is clear when she complained to Mariia from a rest home in Latvia:

In general my life is so empty in contrast to yours that there is nothing of interest for you, there is nothing one can write. My life is often vegetative. The most boring thing is that there are no Russian newspapers! [...] Not only are there no newspapers, there are no newspaper sellers either. And it is forbidden to send for them.<sup>135</sup>

Not to be beaten, she arranged for local acquaintances and Mariia to send her cuttings from *Izvestiia* and other newspapers, but it still took

about a week to receive them and there were often times when none got through.<sup>136</sup> Anna also pestered Mariia to write more about herself and events, writing in July 1927: 'I know about your life only in the most general terms'. Later, in August of that year, she complained that Mariia did not write enough about herself, adding: 'I was glad for even one phrase relating to the most interesting thing: the account about the speech [Nadezhda] gave [in which she denounced the opposition]'.<sup>137</sup> Mariia, who was increasingly under pressure from Stalin and fully aware of the unsettling political events, was, perhaps, in her refusal to tell Anna about what was going on, trying to protect her. Certainly after the doctors' advice not to inform Lenin of political events during his illness, the Ul'ianov family often hid bad news from those who were not well.<sup>138</sup> More generally, in stark contrast to Anna's first letters after the revolution, very few of the sisters' letters from the mid-1920s onwards contain references to political events of any kind.

Anna did, however, have some idea about the worsening political situation and expressed uneasiness about it. Indeed, she often doubted the veracity of the reports. In 1927, she wrote: 'Lately, but with breaks, I've had some news of home. All in all it's not pleasant when one reads things in the local newspaper and does not know in what measure they are right.'<sup>139</sup> She added in her next letter:

Is it possible that you and [Nadezhda] are still in town? This and all connected with it worries me. Here they print such information about the USSR in the newspapers that only the thought that it is nonsense calms.<sup>140</sup>

In 1931, she even doubted first hand news from acquaintances, writing to Mariia after meeting one of the doctors who had treated Vladimir: 'B. Sol. wanted to write to you. All his news is unpleasant. It seems to me that he exaggerates it.'<sup>141</sup>

Despite her refusal to believe everything she read or heard, Anna's letters to Mariia at the time were full of concern about her health and her nerves. On 6 August 1927 she complained that Mariia's contribution to the collective family letter she had just received was small and wrote that this pointed to Mariia being overworked and nervous. She continued: 'Go to the hills and marvel at nature as [Vladimir] always did after nervous exhaustion and try not to take all matters too close to heart.'<sup>142</sup> Later that same year she told Mariia 'to look more philosophically at things' and even attempted to be optimistic about the political situation writing: 'Maybe it's better that several valves will be opened,

maybe the atmosphere won't be so intense.'<sup>143</sup> By the start of the 1930s, however, Anna was distressed by the turn of events and the attacks on the Rightist Opposition. Ol'minskii noted in his diary in 1931 that he had had a fight with her because of her 'extreme rightist' views.<sup>144</sup> She had 'babbled' to him 'regret for Rykov, Tomskii, Bukharin' and had said that the secret police were often 'mistaken' when they arrested 'harmfuls', referring probably to the arrests of 'bourgeois specialists' and former Mensheviks that were being carried out during this period.<sup>145</sup> That same year, Anna gave Mariia more advice, perhaps that she was also trying to take, writing: 'It is necessary to retain inner calm. Don't think so much about others.'<sup>146</sup>

Anna, however, did not cease thinking about others. She regularly received letters from old acquaintances or members of the public asking for help and was often able to provide it.<sup>147</sup> Yet, this was not always an easy task, as Anna admitted to Mariia Nikolaevna Chebotareva in 1928, in a reply to her request for help in securing a pension for her husband. Anna wrote:

Of course a hero of labour should receive an individual pension, just as all elderly people who have worked their whole life should be provided for in their old age. But... in Soviet Russia there are few resources. This, and only this, explains why many who deserve a pension have only [...] twenty roubles, on which one cannot really live. [...] But [...] in every separate case one must try.<sup>148</sup>

She added that many people turned to her for help, but she did not know if, in the end, they received pensions, and that she knew that there were still more orphans and war wounded who deserved to be provided for by the Soviet state. In reply to Chebotareva's request, she advised her which government department to apply to and reassured her that she had heard that the pension for heroes of labour might be increased.<sup>149</sup> She concluded her letter:

I wish you success and send you greetings. I am glad for you that these difficult years, with all their hard experiences, haven't caused losses in your family, as they have in so many [...].<sup>150</sup>

Anna herself was not to escape hard experiences during this period. In what must have been an unpleasant turn of events, given her sympathy for her sister and sister-in-law's position in the political turmoil, Anna became indirectly involved in Stalin's smear campaign against

Krupskaia, when her popular biography of her brother, *V.I. Ul'ianov (N. Lenin). Short Notes about his Life and Work*, was used by others to criticise Nadezhda's reminiscences. Nadezhda's *Reminiscences of Lenin* was condemned for containing 'mistakes' about and 'distortions' of Lenin's life, as well as for not 'reflect[ing] Stalin's leading role in the creation of the Party, [...] its development [...], and in the preparations for and the conducting of the Great October Socialist Revolution', that is for not following the history of the Party as established by Istpart.<sup>151</sup> Both Ol'minskii, when reviewing the first part of Nadezhda's reminiscences, and P.N. Pospelov, when critiquing the next volumes, used Anna's *Short Notes* as the ideal model against which to measure Krupskaia's reminiscences, despite the fact that the comparison was not really a valid one. As Nadezhda pointed out in her replies to her critics, Anna's book discussed a different, earlier part of Lenin's life.<sup>152</sup> Indeed, as others have noted, by referring to her brother's childhood and youth, Anna's biography does not address Lenin's political views in any depth nor his role in the October revolution and the establishment of the Soviet regime (though she wrote about these issues in other works).<sup>153</sup> Nonetheless, suggesting that another close relative of Lenin had written a better biography of him was an extremely effective way of invalidating Krupskaia's more honest book.

Anna also found herself in conflict with Stalin over Lenin's biography. This had begun in 1921 when Anna disagreed with both Lenin and Stalin about how his biography should be written. Anna wrote to Ol'minskii in 1921 telling him that Vladimir had said that he did not think his letters should be published yet, and that Stalin had agreed with him.<sup>154</sup> To Anna's protest that the letters must not be 'removed from history' Vladimir agreed, but said that they should only be published in ten years' time.<sup>155</sup>

In the early 1930s, Anna's disagreements with Stalin over Lenin's biography came to a head, when Anna clashed with him over how her discovery about Lenin's Jewish roots should be used. Anna saw the potential for using this information to try to quell growing anti-semitism in the country. Anna had in fact had a long interest in Judaism and anti-semitism. It had first been suggested while she was at university that the Ul'ianovs might have Jewish roots and Anna had known about this for certain since 1924.<sup>156</sup> In later years, Anna (and others) became concerned about the rise in anti-semitism in the Soviet Union.<sup>157</sup> In 1932, she turned to Stalin for permission to publish the fact that Lenin had Jewish roots. Stalin refused it. He was in the midst

of his campaign to remove all 'dangerous' phrases from Lenin's *Collected Works* and insisted that this information was kept secret.<sup>158</sup>

Twice in one and a half years, Anna wrote to Stalin asking for his permission for this information to be released. In her first letter, Anna invoked her relationship with Lenin, arguing that he would support her view.<sup>159</sup> In her second she expressed her view more forcefully, writing: 'In general, I do not know what the motives could be amongst us, communists, for the silencing of this fact.'<sup>160</sup> Once again she referred to Lenin's opinion in support of her argument, pointing out that he had valued the qualities that Jews possessed which, he said, made them able revolutionaries.<sup>161</sup> Stalin was unmoved by Anna's arguments and once again forbade her from publishing it. Anna did not approach him again about this matter after 1934 and she did not disobey his order.

Mariia also played a role in this exchange. In answer to Anna's first letter, Stalin sent a verbal reply through Mariia that 'this was not the moment' to publish and that Anna was to remain 'absolutely silent' about Lenin's Jewish roots.<sup>162</sup> In her second letter, Anna wrote that Mariia 'considered it worthless to publish this fact now' and had argued 'that it might [only] be made known sometime in 100 years'.<sup>163</sup> It is possible that Stalin conveyed his first answer through Mariia to test her loyalty. On the other hand, it is possible that Mariia agreed with Stalin on this matter; of the two sisters it was Mariia whose biographies of Lenin were most influenced by Party history and ideology. Either way, when Anna emphasised in her second letter that Mariia remained opposed to the publication it is possible that she was trying to protect her sister from Stalin's anger since it was clear that Mariia had not persuaded Anna to forget the matter.

## The Il'ich University

Mariia's political career was never completely destroyed; like Kollontai, she remained loyal to the regime and was able to secure government posts until the end of her life. Despite the smear campaign against her, Mariia did not lose all her political allies, nor was her public standing damaged. Indeed, at the height of the attacks on her, when she was removed from *Pravda*, Mariia's colleagues and comrades defended her, with Krupskaya, Bukharin, Rykov and others voicing their protests to the Central Committee.<sup>164</sup> Rykov complained that 'such old Party members and central organ workers as M.I. Ul'ianova have been removed from the leadership of the newspaper', while Bukharin

protested that 'M.I. Ul. [had] been virtually removed from the job, although she was a longtime employee of *Pravda* and [had] initiated the worker correspondent movement'.<sup>165</sup> He also pointed out that 'no preliminary discussion was held with her'.<sup>166</sup>

Mariia herself had to submit a more obsequious letter to the Central Committee to receive a full-time post. She wrote:

In view of the fact that the period of my holiday is past, I ask that the question of my future work be clarified. Last year I worked on a biography of Vladimir Il'ich and on his personal documents at the Lenin Institute and would like to continue this work in the future. In particular, at the present time, I have a series of urgent matters to conclude there, which will take at least a month and a half. But it is difficult to unite this work with newspaper work, which is very stressful on the nerves. Since I have participated in newspaper work for more than ten years, I would like now to work in another field, one that, if possible, would give me immediate contact with the masses. In view of the above, I would ask if the CC considers it possible to free me from work at *Pravda* and to grant me any kind of other work.

I should emphasise that making this request does not imply any kind of divergence from the general line of the Party. I will be better able to show through work that I do not diverge from the Party line.

If, for whatever reason, the CC finds it inexpedient to fulfill my request and decides that I should continue to work at *Pravda*, I will, of course, submit to its decision.<sup>167</sup>

Molotov wrote on the letter that Mariia had expressed 'her unwillingness to fulfill the CC's decision about [her] work at *Pravda*'.<sup>168</sup> He concluded: 'It would follow to note this and *to free*, finally, comrade Ul'ianova from membership of the editorial board of *Pravda*'.<sup>169</sup> It is possible that the whole of the letter was written in the type of in-depth language Stalin used to make it appear that Mariia was leaving the newspaper voluntarily. This is suggested by the fact that both Mariia and Molotov used similar phrasing, with Molotov giving special emphasis on the words 'to free' and referring to Mariia's absence from the newspaper as an 'endless "holiday"'.<sup>170</sup> It is also indicated by the fact that Mariia cited as a reason not to return to *Pravda* the fact that she had worked there for ten years. This was the 'acceptable' reason Mariia gave for leaving *Pravda* when she was interviewed by the Party organisation of the Lenin Institute in 1930.<sup>171</sup>



Despite her treatment at the hands of the Party, Mariia was still determined to work for the Soviet government. Her desire to work 'with the masses' was not diminished and perhaps was the one area in which she felt she could still do good.<sup>172</sup> Toom remembered: 'We asked Mariia Il'inichna more than once, why she – with her failing health – went to the most difficult work at the Complaints Bureau. With a sort of guilty look she answered: "I can't work without people".'<sup>173</sup>

Mariia started work at the Complaints Bureau in 1932 and soon nicknamed it the Il'ich University, as if the Bureau upheld the standards Lenin himself would have set for Soviet society.<sup>174</sup> It was a small-scale department when she joined, attached to the Soviet Control Commission and designed to deal with infringements of citizens' rights by the state. In 1932, the department processed 32,000 complaints.<sup>175</sup> Under Mariia's leadership, this number rose to 37,623, while the number of visitors to the Bureau also increased.<sup>176</sup> Diagilev implies that the very association of Mariia's name to the Bureau caused the number of visitors and complaints to rise since they knew they would be listened to sympathetically.<sup>177</sup> That Mariia was dedicated to her new work is demonstrated in a letter, in which she asked her friend, V.D. Kuznetsov, who was travelling to the Chusovskii region to inform her about any shortages and bureaucratic irregularities he came across while he was there. As she put it:

These days I work at the United Bureau of Complaints of the USSR and the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. [I'm sure] you understand how important it is, in the present situation, for any injustices to be eliminated, to enable the quickest and best completion of our domestic plan.<sup>178</sup>

Mariia gave a report about the Bureau's work at the Plenum of the Central Control Commission of the Party in May 1936.<sup>179</sup> In this she highlighted her commitment to the Party, praising Stalin's leadership and the continual improvement in the lives of the working masses. However, she also raised issues she had addressed in her work for the Rabkor movement, arguing for the need to 'struggle against bureaucracy' and to 'improve the work of the Soviet apparatus, bringing it closer to the masses'.<sup>180</sup> She emphasised her faith in the population, highlighting the fact that they came to the Complaints Bureau with 'questions of great societal significance'.<sup>181</sup> These included 'scandals' in organs of finance, 'breaches of legality in a series of regions', the 'obstruction of collective farm work', 'violations of Stalinist statutes'

and 'an inattentive attitude towards the daily needs of workers, including Stakhanovites'.<sup>182</sup>

Mariia occupied other posts too. Through the Complaints Bureau she became a member of the Commissariat of the Workers' and Peasants' Inspectorate. At the Seventeenth Party Congress, where Mariia made a speech stressing the need for the Party to strengthen links with the masses and to respond to their complaints, she was elected as a member of the Soviet Control Committee of Sovnarkom and in 1935 she was elected as a member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.<sup>183</sup> Mariia also continued to make public appearances. In 1933 she gave a speech to the All-Tartar Congress of Kol'khozniki and spoke at the All-Union Congress of the Bureau of Complaints.<sup>184</sup> She was also awarded the Order of Lenin.<sup>185</sup> In 1935, Mariia joined Nadezhda, Stasova and Kollontai on the presidium overseeing the celebration of International Women's Day in the Bolshoi Theatre.<sup>186</sup>

Despite her success at the Complaints Bureau, Mariia was a changed woman. She worked even longer hours than before, often until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning.<sup>187</sup> Whereas during her days at *Pravda* Mariia had always been happy to stop her work and chat with her friends who visited her, when Krylova visited her at the Bureau of Complaints, she 'could not tear [Mariia] from her work'.<sup>188</sup> On another occasion, Kudelli wrote to Mariia: 'You don't know when M.I. will go on leave, do you? Or is she so distracted by her work at [the Inspectorate] [...] that she has forgotten about rest. Dear Manechka, you *must* think of yourself.'<sup>189</sup> Toom remembered how quickly Mariia aged after she moved to the Bureau.<sup>190</sup>

In retrospect, the year 1922 represented a turning point in the Ul'ianov sisters' lives, particularly Mariia's. For her it signalled both the start of her successful leadership of the Rabkor movement and the beginning of a fraught period of personal stress and political struggle. Increasingly, she lent her political support to Bukharin and Stalin. This was not a vote for Stalin the leader, but rather an expression of Mariia's belief in the collective authority of the Party. Above all she wanted Party unity to be preserved, for after Lenin's death there was no single political figure who could, in her view, take over her late brother's role.

Like her sister, Anna feared that the Party would stall without Vladimir to lead it, and though she was not involved in the political disputes of the 1920s, she watched them with consternation. In contrast to Mariia, Anna's career was nearing an end. She left the DPC and

took up the less stressful work of recording Party history at Istpart. Though Anna's campaign to publish Lenin's Jewish roots put her in direct conflict with Stalin, it was a brief episode. Mariia's clash with Stalin over her defence of Bukharin ended in disgrace, but did not finish her political career. Both sisters continued to be prominent figures in the Soviet regime.

# 6

## The Sisters and History

After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin assigned Anna the task of researching her family's history. When Mariia was removed from *Pravda* in 1929, she was sent to the Lenin Institute<sup>1</sup> to prepare her brother's letters to his family for publication. Clements has interpreted this as a strategy for 'relegating' the sisters and removing them from Soviet politics.<sup>2</sup> However, far from dooming the sisters to obscurity, becoming the keepers of Lenin's memory, publishing popular biographies of him and critiquing others, as well as helping in the building of museums to him and touring them, raised the sisters' public profile even further. Whereas before Lenin's death, Anna and Mariia's connection to the leader had not been publicised, now their names were regularly linked to the increasingly eulogised name of Lenin. It was partly through this publicised connection that the sisters enjoyed popularity with the Soviet public and this, in turn, may well have been a factor which saved them from the more severe forms of repression the government employed against Old Bolsheviks in the 1930s. However, if being the biographers of Lenin had few negative impacts on the sisters while they were alive, it did have consequences for Anna and Mariia's own place in history.

### Writing Lenin

In the years after Vladimir's death, Anna and Mariia's help was in constant demand from the Lenin Institute and various other groups in their projects to set up museums and memorials to Lenin. It was, of course, a role very few people could play, for it involved donating personal materials relating to Vladimir's biography as well as providing information about his private life that could not be obtained elsewhere. Anna and Mariia both donated large numbers of documents

and photographs to the Lenin Institute and other groups, as the many letters of thanks they received show.<sup>3</sup>

One letter to Mariia reveals just how crucial the sisters' contributions were in enabling the Lenin Institute to give a full picture of Lenin's life, and it is clear that it was personal documents and items that they most needed for Lenin Corners and museums:

Materials are being drawn from the Institute Museum for the creation of 'Lenin Corners' [...] But unfortunately the whole period of Vladimir Il'ich's life can in no way be represented in the museum, especially the years 1901, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910 and 1916. The years 1909, 1910, 1912 and 1913 are represented only by Police Department circulars [...]

In the Institute Archive there are manuscripts by Lenin for these years, but there are absolutely no photographs, objects or any other kind of reminiscences, which could supplement the documents of the Archive [...]

Do you have materials for the stated period collected in your personal archive, which you would find possible to exhibit in copies in the Institute Museum?<sup>4</sup>

Besides helping state efforts to conserve Lenin's memory, the sisters also produced an impressive list of biographical material about their brother and their family, from small commemorative articles to full biographies. Mariia's collected reminiscences includes over forty articles about Lenin, as well as biographies of her parents, eldest brother Aleksandr, and sister Ol'ga.<sup>5</sup> Anna's includes over thirty articles about Lenin and her biography of Aleksandr.<sup>6</sup>

Anna and Mariia also regularly critiqued other people's biographies of Lenin. They were outraged by what they considered to be the inaccuracies and distortions of Lenin's life which appeared in biographies of him and often wrote articles or open letters to editorial boards critiquing and correcting such writing, as well as criticising editors for allowing such texts to be printed. It seems that the sisters accepted that Lenin's biography would be used for political and ideological purposes, to legitimise Bolshevik/Soviet authority, for example, and were sometimes prepared to collude in the propagation of such an image. However, they would not tolerate mistakes or manipulation of the facts in descriptions of Vladimir the man.<sup>7</sup>

As early as June 1924, Mariia wrote an article in *Pravda* in which she severely criticised various reminiscences about Lenin.<sup>8</sup> Her corrections

were of small inaccuracies, and not of political or ideological distortions. For example, she pointed out that contrary to the assertions in one article, Vladimir did not have photographs of his siblings on his desk.<sup>9</sup> She refuted another story that Vladimir came to be called Lenin after his mother, whose name, the author claimed, was Elena.<sup>10</sup> However, Mariia did on occasion also criticise mistakes in descriptions of the historical context or political developments, which she believed were crucial elements of biographies.<sup>11</sup> For example, she described as 'nonsense' one biographer's assertion that Lenin and Martov disagreed over the issue of Economism in the 1890s, that is before Economism existed.<sup>12</sup> Indeed, Mariia became disillusioned with other people's reminiscences of Lenin, warning the celebrated Soviet writer, Marietta Sergeevna Shaginian, who was planning to write about the Ul'ianov family, to believe 'very few of the stories being published about Vladimir Il'ich and his family', even though they were written by contemporaries.<sup>13</sup>

Anna took a slightly more political angle in reviews of biographies of Lenin than her sister. She criticised a biography of Lenin for children by her old friend from her student days I.N. Chebotarev, published in 1922, for not sufficiently emphasising her brother's 'work in the creation and leadership of the Party', that is, Chebotarev had not followed the Istpart version of Bolshevik history, in which Lenin was the undisputed and revered leader of the Party from its formation.<sup>14</sup> Anna also wrote a critical review of K.M. Takhtarev's *V.I. Lenin and the Social-Democratic Movement*, published in 1924.<sup>15</sup> Takhtarev had withdrawn from revolutionary activities in 1897 and lived abroad, only returning to Russia in 1907 to pursue an academic career. His involvement in the Economist debate had not been forgotten however, especially now that it was a standard part of the official history of the Bolshevik Party. Anna accused Takhtarev of allowing his former Economist tendencies to colour his judgement and argued that by not taking into account the fact that Lenin's view had triumphed and he had successfully led Russia into revolution, Takhtarev's negative assessment of Lenin's role in the formation and leadership of the RSDRP was inevitably flawed.<sup>16</sup> Once again, Anna upheld the official line on the history of the Bolshevik Party.

Anna objected as strongly to factual errors regarding Vladimir the man as her sister. In an open letter to the editorial board of *Smena* (*Change*), Anna warned against the 'numerous muddles, incongruities and at times even the direct hoaxes' in works on Lenin, particularly in the provinces.<sup>17</sup> She then proceeded to correct an article that had

appeared in *Smena*, mainly refuting the author's claims to have met Lenin more than once and above all his assertion that he had lived with the family for a month in 1883.<sup>18</sup>

Like her sister, Anna became disheartened with the constant struggle to correct other people's writing about Lenin and her family. She wrote to Mariia: 'I'm correcting the unfortunate [book] *The Ul'ianov Family in Simbirsk*. Some of it is improving, but I'm afraid it will be issued in its unfortunate state all the same.'<sup>19</sup> The book was published, with Anna's comments and corrections placed in footnotes. Anna pointed to exaggerations about her parents' wealth, but more importantly refuted the author's assertion that Vladimir and Ol'ga became revolutionaries immediately after Aleksandr's execution. As she put it: 'Vladimir [...] was only just seventeen, while Ol'ga was only fifteen and a half [...] And there was no socio-political movement in Simbirsk at that time.'<sup>20</sup>

Another strategy the sisters employed to prevent distortions of Vladimir's life was to try and control who wrote about him. When a writer at *Pravda* approached Mariia asking if he could write a biography of Lenin, she advised him against it, saying that was a task best left to those who had known him.<sup>21</sup> She suggested instead that he collect workers' reminiscences of seeing Lenin.<sup>22</sup>

Anna's accusation that *Novii Mir* (*New World*) had shown 'contempt for [Aleksandr and Vladimir's] names and the events of their lives' by printing a story loosely based on their biographies which, she said, was plagiarised from her own reminiscences of Aleksandr developed into a debate about intellectual property rights under communism.<sup>23</sup> Unperturbed by the fact that they were replying to Lenin's sister, the journal answered defiantly that 'in crying out to the whole world, that [*Novii mir*] had broken her right to ownership [of her brothers' memories], [Anna] had permitted disrespect to the memories of her brother-communists'.<sup>24</sup> Anna countered:

What is the *real truth* in this case? That the right of ownership of ideas, of products of literary works will be recognised in the communist regime, or that 'to the sister of the great communist' such rights to produce are disgraceful?<sup>25</sup>

Despite the sisters' determined efforts to correct other people's distortions of Lenin's life, it is important to note that their own reminiscences of him were not without inaccuracies and even a tendency to mythologise him. Of the two sisters, Anna's writings about her brother were, in the main, more balanced. She did produce the highly popular

and Party sanctioned *Short Notes*, and she did play down the wealth of her parents in her own reminiscences.<sup>26</sup> On one or two occasions, Anna romanticised the way that Vladimir became a revolutionary, writing, for example: 'Aleksandr died a hero, and his blood, glowing with revolutionary fire, lit up the way for his brother Vladimir to follow after him.'<sup>27</sup>

However, other writings by her avoided making Vladimir a man of destiny. As we have seen, she was keener than Vladimir to publish his letters and she disagreed with Stalin about the suppression of Lenin's Jewish roots. Although she submitted to censorship in these matters, in others she stretched the boundaries of what was acceptable to write about Lenin. Anna related that Lenin had admitted to her in 1911 that he wondered if he would 'manage to live to the next revolution' and instead of portraying him as the unquestioned leader of the Party from the beginning, Anna tended to write instead that he helped to build it.<sup>28</sup> In her introduction to the collected volume of Lenin's letters to his relatives, Anna hinted at the turbulence and the shifting nature of revolutionary politics of the pre-1917 period when she described how Lenin's letters about 'Party news' contained his 'precise characterisations [...] of people and trends within the Party'.<sup>29</sup> She also suggested that the development of Lenin's understanding of Marxism was a life-long process that he never completed; he was not the all knowing leader many portrayed him to be.<sup>30</sup>

Anna pointed out where she had disagreed with her brother, over his attitude to the journal *Kommunist* and over Istpart for example.<sup>31</sup> She also exposed some of his character flaws. In her reminiscences of Aleksandr, she made it clear that Aleksandr had disliked Lenin's arrogance (even if elsewhere she said that Vladimir was modest<sup>32</sup>).<sup>33</sup> She sometimes showed a lack of deference to his name that in the era of his personality cult may well have been shocking. In 1927 at a meeting to commemorate his death she spoke about how, in 1917, she was amazed to find Vladimir guiding Bolshevik policy over how to continue with the war since he had never studied it. She remembered thinking: 'How will he manage to sort out these military matters?'<sup>34</sup>

In contrast, Mariia tended to mythologise her brother, even when insisting on the need to know him as a man as well as a theorist and leader. She wrote: 'Lenin the man, with his brilliant, all-round individuality, has [...] scarcely been described at all.'<sup>35</sup> Although she often wrote about his habits and preferences, including his love of animals and children, his feelings on music and his holidays, she almost always juxtaposed this with references to him as the pre-destined leader of the



revolution.<sup>36</sup> For example, writing about the summer of 1886, Mariia described the following scene:

Once [Vladimir and Aleksandr] were sitting in that room (in Kokushkino), thinking hard over a chessboard which was lit up by a lamp. The window was wide open but protected by wire netting [...] A girl who was about twelve, ran up to the window and shouted: 'Look, they're sitting like convicts behind bars...' The brothers swiftly turned to the window and stared gravely after the little tomboy as she ran away. They had had no experience of real iron bars, but they seemed to sense it already as something inescapable and absolutely inevitable at that time.<sup>37</sup>

It was Mariia too who first claimed that on hearing of Aleksandr's execution, Vladimir automatically rejected his older brother's revolutionary tactics, saying: 'No, we will not follow that path. That is not the path to take.'<sup>38</sup> Trotsky and others have dismissed it as a fabrication, for how could the young Vladimir understand what road to take when he did not really understand yet why Aleksandr had attempted to assassinate the Tsar?<sup>39</sup> However, at the time Mariia's assertion was 'canonised', since it produced the impression of an epiphanous start to Lenin's revolutionary career and could be used as evidence to support the Party's 'correct' history in which Bolshevism was a clearly defined, new ideology which broke from the populism of previous revolutionary enterprises.<sup>40</sup>

Indeed, in general, while Trotsky upheld Anna as a generally reliable witness of Lenin's life, (as might be expected) he attacked Mariia's reminiscences harshly, accusing her of carelessness and asserting that 'not one of Lenin's intimates revealed such a lack of understanding as the sister [Mariia] who was so unreservedly devoted to him'.<sup>41</sup> Trotsky cited as an example the fact that Mariia wrote that Vladimir was shy. He wrote:

Mariia Ul'ianova's remark that Vladimir's shyness was a family trait seems strange. This lack of psychological insight, which is apparent in much of the younger sister's testimony, calls for caution, the more so since it was natural for her to try to find in Lenin as many 'family' traits as possible.<sup>42</sup>

Firstly, it can be pointed out that Trotsky himself described Vladimir as shy, writing in his autobiography about Vladimir looking at him

'softly [...] with that sort of awkward shyness that with him indicate[d] intimacy'.<sup>43</sup> Secondly, Trotsky overlooked the possibility that Mariia, if not simply affected by the natural desire to emphasise what she viewed as the positive or endearing qualities of a sibling she loved, may well have emphasised certain qualities in Vladimir deliberately, to set him up as an example to the public to follow. For example, she wrote: 'the people need to know Lenin the man, not just the leader of the working class and of the world socialist revolution – it will help us better ourselves.'<sup>44</sup> In 1924, in a speech to commemorate Lenin, she said: 'we must learn from Vladimir Il'ich's attentiveness and sensitive attitude to comrades.'<sup>45</sup> Anna may well have been attempting a similar campaign when she wrote:

[In his letters] one notices the simplicity and the natural manner of Vladimir Il'ich [...] His tremendous industry, his natural restraint and his tenacity in carrying through what he had undertaken are also apparent here [...as is] Vladimir's great modesty [and] his ability to be content with little.<sup>46</sup>

Anna certainly hoped to use Lenin's biography to educational effect when she tried to have information about his Jewish roots published in order to undermine the growing anti-semitism of Russia.

In his assessment of Krupskaja's memoirs of Lenin, White argues that 'one should not expect a wife to be impartial'.<sup>47</sup> The same applies to reminiscences by sisters. Cultural factors must also be taken into consideration when judging Anna and Mariia's writing, since they were inevitably influenced by Russian and Soviet traditions relating to the mourning of the dead. Russians believe that it is improper to say anything that might damage the reputation of the deceased. Before the revolution, laments would be composed for the dead by the women of the family, which were 'rigidly formulaic'.<sup>48</sup> For example, dead sons were always described as being 'brave and handsome'.<sup>49</sup> We saw this kind of ritual in Ol'ga's classmate's reaction to Ol'ga's death and Anna's defence of her late father, written in 1894.<sup>50</sup> Amongst revolutionaries before 1917 and during Soviet times, new Social-Democratic rituals for commemorating the dead developed. Soviet citizens were exhorted not to weep for the dead, but rather carry on the revolutionary struggle in their place. The use of formulaic praising of the deceased continued, even if slightly different characteristics were now assigned to them. Revolutionaries were invariably described as being courageous and dedicated, kind to children and pitiless to the

'revolution's enemies'.<sup>51</sup> Thus it is important not to assume that what Anna and Mariia wrote was simply the unconscious product of their love and admiration, but to take into account the influence of Soviet culture (as well as increasing Party control over what could be published).

Finally, it should not be concluded that the sisters were devoted to their role as the keepers of Lenin's biography to the exclusion of their own work, even though it has regularly been celebrated as if it were Anna and Mariia's greatest achievement. In 1924 Anna's biographical work on Lenin was said to have 'huge historico-biographical value', even though, at this stage, she had written very few articles about her brother.<sup>52</sup> Later biographers have gone further. Kunetskaia argued that Mariia and Anna did a 'great service to the Soviet people' when they published Lenin's letters to his relatives.<sup>53</sup>

Certainly they were enthusiastic about the creation of Lenin house museums and were often willing to spend time with biographers of Lenin (and to correct them).<sup>54</sup> However, with their own political agendas and heavy workloads, Anna and Mariia did not always make Lenin's biography their priority, to the surprise of others around them. For example, in his diary entry for 22 September 1928, Ol'minskii wrote:

Yesterday morning I handed my [...] general conclusions about the volumes of [Lenin's *Collected Works*] to M.I. and N.K. Krupskaia. M.I. answered that she still hadn't read through [the volumes], but N.K. was reading them; but today on the telephone N.K. said that she also hadn't read them. They're both very busy with current questions and obviously too little interested in questions about the publication of Lenin's works.<sup>55</sup>

## The sisters' story

When Lenin died, *Pravda* publicised for the first time that Anna and Mariia were related to him.<sup>56</sup> Anna was referred to as Lenin's sister in a description of the funeral.<sup>57</sup> Mariia's link to Lenin was acknowledged slightly earlier, on 26 January 1924, when letters of condolence from Rabkors to Mariia and an article by the journalist and writer Mikhail Efimovich Kol'tsov, entitled 'Wife. Sister.', were published in the newspaper.<sup>58</sup> Various features of Kol'tsov's article foreshadowed how the sisters would be portrayed by other commentators and historians, although in this piece he made no reference at all to Anna. In his article, Kol'tsov described how Mariia was never more than five paces

from Lenin during his leadership, supporting him. He also emphasised that the Ul'ianov household, meaning Lenin, Krupskaja and Mariia, was an ideal family: 'Vladimir Il'ich came to us from the future [...] His family – his wife, his sister – is also a family from the future communist world.'<sup>59</sup>

At this stage the ideal family, as promoted by the Soviet state, was still one in which the personal was less important than the public role and duty of building socialism. Kol'tsov stressed that, as good communists, Mariia and Nadezhda continued to work throughout Vladimir's illness, leaving him to go to work any time he seemed to be feeling a little better. In 1924, Kol'tsov was also able to write about the women's own political careers, before and after the revolution, summing them up as follows: 'Nadezhda Konstantinovna taught Russia, an illiterate country of workers and peasants, to read. Mariia Il'inichna taught the working class to write.'<sup>60</sup>

For the first ten years of the regime, Mariia's work was widely reported and celebrated, but increasingly after 1924 her devotion to Lenin and his ideas were also stressed. On 5 May 1927 *Pravda* workers, including Bukharin, wrote a piece about Mariia praising her work for the newspaper and her involvement in the Rabkor movement.<sup>61</sup> They wrote:

As the first organiser and one of the most distinguished leaders of this renowned movement, Mariia Il'inichna always leads a tireless struggle for the protection of the health of its revolutionary, Leninist principles, and against unhealthy deviations in it [...] Remembering Mariia Il'inichna's services to the Party and the working class, to the million-strong mass of *Pravda* readers, we send to our dear friend and comrade warm greetings and the confident wish of many, many years of such brilliant, fruitful work.<sup>62</sup>

Mariia's official image changed from the late 1920s. Her fall from political grace and removal from *Pravda* meant that references to her work for the newspaper and the Rabkor movement decreased. Between 1923 and 1927, Mariia's work had been celebrated regularly in *Pravda* on 5 May or *Den' Pechati* (Day of the Press), as the letter quoted above shows.<sup>63</sup> However, in 1928, no mention of Mariia was made, and her name was omitted from an article on the Rabkor movement, published on 5 May 1930.<sup>64</sup> In an article about M. Kol'tsov's ten years of work at *Pravda*, his working relationship with Mariia was not referred to, even though he had celebrated her work in 1924.<sup>65</sup> Lastly, by the late 1920s,

the Soviet concept of the ideal family had shifted back to some extent to a more traditional model, in which women were to be carers and nurturers once more, and this served to reinforce the desirability of portraying Mariia as Lenin's domestic helper.<sup>66</sup>

Mariia's own writing reinforced these trends. She no longer contributed articles on political subjects to *Pravda*; these had always been rare, but now they ceased altogether.<sup>67</sup> Mariia's reminiscences of Lenin were still published in the newspaper, but even the appearance of these decreased. In the years 1935–1937, she wrote no reminiscences of Lenin for the anniversary of his death on 21 January, which was a national day of mourning, nor for the celebrations of the revolutions, another two occasions when articles by Mariia had often appeared in the past.<sup>68</sup>

Mariia's literary works were in the main devoted to biographies of her parents and siblings, and to speeches and articles (for Russian publications other than *Pravda*) about Lenin, rather than to autobiographical works. In her writings about Lenin, Mariia rarely referred to herself at all. When she did appear, it was almost never in a political role and more usually as a devoted and loving sister. She often wrote about her childhood memories of her brother, emphasising how he had helped her with her studies, how much influence he had had over her and how she had loved him, more than her other siblings.<sup>69</sup> In one article, she stated: 'Vladimir Il'ich was always my defender [...] His authority over me was very great.'<sup>70</sup>

She almost never mentioned her political views, writing in her introduction to Volume 55 of Lenin's *Collected Works* only that:

Vladimir Il'ich was not only a blood relation but was related to us by his views and convictions. All the family [...] were at that time Social-Democrats, supported the revolutionary wing of the Party, took a greater or lesser part in revolutionary activities, were keenly interested in the life of the Party and were delighted by its successes and grieved by its failures.<sup>71</sup>

Instead, Mariia emphasised the help she showed Vladimir in 'getting his writings published' and she drew attention to the care and support she had given him, especially during the dangerous and traumatic incidents when attempts were made on his life.<sup>72</sup>

Her minimal autobiographical writing does nothing to redress the imbalance caused by the focus on Lenin. Although Mariia wrote an article about the work of *Pravda* after the February revolution, she

referred only briefly to her contribution.<sup>73</sup> She wrote one short autobiography in 1935, but it was not published until 1968 (on the ninetieth anniversary of her birthday).<sup>74</sup> Even though it was a private document during Mariia's lifetime, it was only two pages long and gave only the barest facts of her revolutionary career. Neutral in its account, it gave neither insight into her political views nor any detail about her work. For example, of one of her most active periods, when Mariia worked for the Central Committee in Kiev and then for the Central Committee abroad in Geneva, she wrote only:

In Kiev I worked for the Russian organisation of *Iskra*. At the start of the winter of 1904, I was arrested in Kiev as a member of the Central Committee of the Party and, after my release at the end of 1904, went to Geneva, where Vladimir Il'ich was living. In the year of the first revolution I worked in Petersburg.<sup>75</sup>

Mariia also stressed her devotion to Lenin in this work, writing: 'From my childhood I loved Vladimir Il'ich more than all my other brothers and sisters, and his influence over me was very great throughout my life.'<sup>76</sup> Mariia did write the short piece explaining her support for the Bukharin-Stalin faction (discussed in Chapter 5), but this remained unpublished in her lifetime and does not represent a consistent attempt on Mariia's part to write a full record of her life.<sup>77</sup>

That Mariia wrote very little autobiographical material can only partly be put down to her fall from political grace, since she had rarely written such material even while Lenin was alive. The cultural and gender factors which would have encouraged Mariia to write memoirs which did not focus on her own achievements and ideas were discussed in the introduction. More specifically, Evgenov put Mariia's silence on her pre-revolutionary activities down to 'modesty'.<sup>78</sup> Certainly there is one letter in which Anna seems to be encouraging a modest Mariia, writing: 'It's really good that you [and Dmitrii] are both writing memoirs! You should write more, and more boldly. You and Mitia have fresher memories and must write.'<sup>79</sup>

On a practical level, the factor of time probably played a role. Mariia worked consistently long hours at *Pravda* and the Rabkor movement and, if reports are to be believed, worked even harder at the Complaints Bureau. She was working on the day of her death, even though she was fifty-nine and frail.<sup>80</sup> Considering too the volume of material she produced about Lenin, it is not surprising if she did not have time to write much about herself.

The lack of autobiographical material about Mariia was noted by others, at the time and later. Mariia was approached on two occasions by the Saratov Region Committee to write her reminiscences of her work in the Saratov underground between 1910-13 when she was one of the leading figures of the group. The committee warned that 'despite the exceptional significance of this historico-party information, it is, in our time [1934], totally unknown and unpublished'.<sup>81</sup> Unfortunately Mariia's replies have not been preserved, but she clearly turned down the request at least once, for it was repeated.<sup>82</sup> Of the 1930s, Toom remembered: 'In those years we of course knew little about Mariia Il'inichna's young revolutionary activities. We didn't ask her about anything like that, and she herself didn't go into such reminiscences.'<sup>83</sup>

Unlike her sister, Anna published a great deal of memoir material. Two factors might account for this difference. Firstly, Anna was semi-retired for the last nine years of her life and although ill, she would have had some time to write about herself. Even then though, finding the time was difficult. She confessed to Mariia: 'I still intend to write something of my memoirs, but I don't know when I'll get round to it.'<sup>84</sup> Secondly, Anna was never as involved in politics as her sister, nor disgraced politically, and was, therefore, more able to write about her work. However, Anna's writing is also problematic and far from complete. She too seems to have suffered from a lack of confidence about her ability to write memoirs, even though she was an experienced writer, commenting to Mariia that her first attempts at writing her memoirs seemed 'so childish' that they did not seem 'worth printing'.<sup>85</sup>

Thus, although Anna's works describe her revolutionary and political activities, they fail to give a full insight into Anna's political views (with the exception of perhaps her article describing her work at *Rabotnitsa* before the revolution) or into her personal life.<sup>86</sup> They tend to portray Anna's life as revolving round Lenin, devoted as they are, in the main, to her relationship with her brother and events centring around him. For example, in Anna's article about her underground correspondence written from St Petersburg, she devotes most of the text to how she and Lenin disagreed, rather than to her own activities in the capital.<sup>87</sup>

Anna did write an autobiography, and although it gives more details than her sister's, it is still a neutral, factual account of her life of only four pages. For example, of one of her most active periods, in Saratov, Anna wrote only:

After 1910 I moved to Saratov, where I participated in the legal democratic newspaper *Privolzhskaia gazeta* [...] I also wrote pam-

phlets for the Saratov committee. On the 12 May I was arrested with my sister Mariia Il'inichna and several members of the Saratov committee. But we were in prison for only two weeks.<sup>88</sup>

Anna's work on Aleksandr gives more insight into her character, but her style is highly self-deprecating. Anna gives few details about her own independent university experiences and highlights instead her difficulties in coping with university, her lack of confidence in her intellectual ability and Aleksandr's criticisms of her lack of 'social convictions'.<sup>89</sup>

Anna's writing about Lenin differs slightly from Mariia's, in that Anna refers to herself much more often and in a political context. However, even in these instances, Lenin tends to play an active role and Anna a passive one: Lenin spoke to her 'with great ardour and fervour about the fundamentals of Marxist theory' and he told her about his plans for a legal newspaper.<sup>90</sup> Anna's articles for *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia* which cover her time at Istpart and the early work of Sovnarkom give slightly more information about Anna's political views, how she campaigned for children's welfare and about how she influenced the transfer of Istpart from Narkompros to the Central Committee. Yet even these place Lenin at the centre of events, as chair of Sovnarkom resolving Anna's difficulties, and omit a detailed discussion of Anna's daily work as head of the DPC or as a member of Istpart.<sup>91</sup> On another occasions she described her political views in terms very similar to her sister, writing that she was 'close to Vladimir Il'ich not only by blood but also in [her] convictions'.<sup>92</sup>

Also like Mariia, Anna highlighted the domestic help she gave to her brother. On more than one occasion she wrote about buying clothes for her brother<sup>93</sup> and highlighted his dependence on his female relatives for help in this, writing:

Volodia was always highly unpractical in everyday life, he did not like buying things for himself and never learnt how to do so, and Mother or myself usually looked after these matters. In this respect he was exactly like Father, who relied wholly on Mother for choosing and ordering clothes for him and was superbly indifferent to what he wore. He got used to his clothes, and left to himself, would never have parted from them, it seemed. So in this too, Volodia was his father all over again.<sup>94</sup>

As we have seen, housework and caring for other family members was a routine and automatic part of Anna and Mariia's lives, which



only occasionally interfered with their revolutionary and political careers. Yet, descriptions of this type of activity are very prominent in their memoirs. It seems likely then that they included in the sisters' writings because they thought that it would interest their audience. Anna's *Rabotnitsa* work and Mariia's leadership of the Rabkor movement had given them a clear insight into what interested the masses. Above all, their readership wished to know about Lenin, and Anna and Mariia could provide an almost unique perspective on his private life. It is also possible that they revealed aspects of their lives that would gain the sympathy of their audience, especially now that more traditional feminine roles of caring for the family and maintaining the home were being promoted by the Soviet regime.

In view of the nature of Anna and Mariia's writing, it is perhaps a little more understandable that the sisters have often been (mistakenly) judged as politically or historically insignificant when so much of their autobiographical and memoir work is devoted to simply describing what they did for Lenin. It is an irony that the works that would write Anna and Mariia out of history made them popular with the Soviet public in their own time.

## The legacy

Despite Mariia's fall from grace and the fact that Anna had retired from political life, the two women continued to be celebrated by members of the public, partly because people remembered their revolutionary and political careers, partly because of their publicised relationship with Lenin. The two even began to be associated with the 'good old days' just after the revolution, when hopes were high and hardship was thought to be temporary, before Lenin's death and Stalin's rise to power. Their deaths revealed just how strong public feeling was for them, and once the Stalinist regime had ended, there was renewed interest in these two women. Indeed, mini-personality cults were created around them, particularly around Mariia.

In her lifetime, Mariia continued to be celebrated, despite attacks on her in political circles. Just as the smear campaign was starting against her in 1929, Mariia was invited to attend a conference of workers and servicemen at the Dzerzhinskii Factory No. 12.<sup>95</sup> Although Mariia could not attend this event, she wrote back a long reply, which presumably reflected the content of the speech she would have made, had she gone. While she noted that there were still problems within the USSR, Mariia highlighted its achievements and said finally that 'there is not

and cannot be [...] a path' other than the one 'along which, in this time, our Party and the Soviet government is going, towards the full freedom of the workers'.<sup>96</sup> By 1929, there was little else she could have said that would have been acceptable within the regime, yet the fact that Mariia had been invited suggests that it was her voice of encouragement the workers wanted to hear.

In 1934, Mariia was asked to visit a factory school which had been founded and named after her in 1922, and which was celebrating its anniversary. In the letter of request, signed by fifty-eight people, Mariia's name was referred to as 'beloved' and described as a source of inspiration. It seems that the smear campaign had not affected Mariia's standing here. The letter continues:

Over its years of existence, a thousand young warriors have passed through this school, each of them inspired by and rejoicing at the honoured name of Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova. Under this name the school has conquered, is conquering and will conquer in the struggle for qualified specialists [...] We deeply believe that your coming will still more inspire the hearts of the young warriors in the spirit of courage and determination in the struggle for the creation of a classless, socialist society.<sup>97</sup>

Mariia continued to be remembered fondly by colleagues from *Pravda*. The Ershov family sent Mariia birthday wishes, with the children writing:

We congratulate you on your birthday and wish you many, many more years to prosper and to work for the benefit of the great proletarian revolution. We study hard and are trying to attain even better success. We send you drawings and flowers.<sup>98</sup>

Their parents also included a line or two, adding: 'Congratulations on your birthday and we wish you not less than one hundred years of happy life.'<sup>99</sup>

Other letters from this time show even greater deference to E.N. Einarovicha wrote to her in 1936:

I [...] love you as the sister of V.I. Lenin, whom I adore [...] It seems to me that our beloved Vladimir Il'ich is near to us, amongst us, while you, Nadezhda Krupskaya and your brother [Dmitrii] are alive. You all are little parts of him. You are all dear of course! You see,

you were his beloved 'Mariasha'! You were with him when attempts were made on his life<sup>100</sup> and when he died. I would really like to see you, to see at least one of the Ul'ianovs.<sup>101</sup>

Anna was less publicly acclaimed, which perhaps suggests that being Lenin's sister was not enough to guarantee recognition, one needed also to have had a political prominence, to ensure it. Nonetheless, she was still recognised. During one of Anna's trips to the Volga in 1931, she involved herself in the preserving of a school and then was honoured with it being named after her father, who had been a school inspector.<sup>102</sup> When Anna visited the Lenin house museum in Ul'ianovsk she was feted. Although Anna stayed with an old family friend, she was given a huge send off when she left by steamboat.<sup>103</sup> Flowers were put in her cabin, and museum workers and pioneers gathered to see her off.<sup>104</sup>

That Anna continued to be remembered by many was clear when she died in 1935. She had been seriously ill for three years with arteriosclerosis. Letters from Mariia to Gora describe in detail the deterioration in Anna's health.<sup>105</sup> She lost the use of her limbs, was easily tired and latterly lost her memory.<sup>106</sup> Just as efforts had been made to protect Lenin from anything worrying, Anna's visitors were reduced to her closest acquaintances, she was not told of the illnesses or deaths of friends and Mariia read her letters to remove anything that might upset her, including the news that Gora had separated from his wife.<sup>107</sup> Gora, who was living in Saratov, was not allowed to see his adoptive mother in the last stages of her illness because, according to Mariia, Anna had ceased asking about him due to memory loss.<sup>108</sup> Anna died, at Gorki, on 19 October.

Mariia received numerous letters of condolence which also revealed how people remembered Anna. For example, I. Gorbunov-Posadich wrote to Mariia after Anna's death praising her work in children's literature and arguing that Anna's 'full biography must be written'.<sup>109</sup> There were others who remembered Anna's revolutionary activities before 1917. For example, a group of '*stariki*' (old men) as they called themselves wrote to Mariia to condole her on Anna's death because they had 'worked with [Anna] and under her leadership' in 1905 and 1906.<sup>110</sup>

It is also indicative of Anna's continuing status within the regime that she was given a state funeral. On 21 October Anna's ashes were displayed in a government meeting hall on Red Square which was open to the public between 10am and 10pm.<sup>111</sup> Anna was publicly

commemorated in the pages of *Pravda* over several days. On 20 October 1935, Anna's death was announced in the newspaper. Her photograph was published alongside an obituary and two reminiscences of her.<sup>112</sup> These articles reveal what was deemed acceptable to write about Lenin's elder sister, and in considering what was celebrated and what was neglected, the early roots of Anna's image in history can be found. That she was Lenin's sister and a senior member of the Party was made clear. A detailed, but neutral chronology of her underground activities, including her correspondence and newspaper work was set out, while only the briefest references were made to her work at the DPC and Istpart. Her biographies of Aleksandr and Lenin were also mentioned. The obituary closed praising Anna as 'a rock-hard Bolshevik, one of the warriors of the old guard, which, under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, grew into the millions-strong army of world Bolshevism'.<sup>113</sup> Bizarrely, the official obituary, which was reproduced in other newspapers, claimed that Anna had taken part in Aleksandr's conspiracy to assassinate the Tsar (even though Anna herself had denied this in her reminiscences).<sup>114</sup> In *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, an extract of Anna's autobiography were published, edited in such a way as to remove all reference to Aleksandr's involvement in the attempt to assassinate the Tsar, making it seem as if Anna had been an independent participant in the plot.<sup>115</sup>

That the 'rules' of the official obituary were followed is shown in a letter from Stasova and others commemorating Anna, which was published on 21 October. In this letter, the authors use almost identical phrasing as the official obituary, including describing Anna as a 'rock-hard Bolshevik'.<sup>116</sup> Another wrote a similar description of Anna, adding that she was always 'ready, it seemed, to take upon herself the most mundane work and any Party assignment, fulfilling them with exceptional conscientiousness'.<sup>117</sup> A.M. Lezhava, an Old Bolshevik and member of the Central Control Commission, gave more details about Anna's contribution to the Saratov organisation between 1908 and 1910.<sup>118</sup>

Further reminiscences about Anna were published the following day and these gave far more information about Anna's career than her official obituary.<sup>119</sup> Anna's old comrade-in-arms, Mitskevich, described Anna's early work in Moscow. Although he emphasised Lenin's involvement, he gave full details about Anna's translation and correspondence work, as well as of her efforts to keep Mitskevich supplied with Marxist literature while in prison.<sup>120</sup> An article by A.D. Kalinina, one of Anna's colleagues at the DPC, gave details about her work there,

the various conferences she had organised and the children's homes she had inspected. Just as Lenin was often held up as a teacher, Kalinina concluded: 'Here was a genuine pedagogue, from whom we must learn how to work with children.'<sup>121</sup>

Anna's care for Lenin was also highlighted. Lezhava stressed Anna's 'exceptional affection for Vladimir Il'ich' and the following year, Kudelli included the following in her biography of Anna:

It is also vital to mention the purely motherly care with which Anna Il'inichna surrounded Lenin on his arrival in Russia. Did he need a new coat? She bought a new one and hid the old one so that he did not wear it again.<sup>122</sup>

Anna's ashes were removed on the night of the 21 October and taken by procession to October Station to be sent to Leningrad for burial. *Pravda* wrote that tens of thousands attended the meeting of mourning held in Insurrection Square in Leningrad and Mariia estimated that 100,000 followed the funeral march.<sup>123</sup> Anna was laid to rest, according to her wish, in Volkovo Cemetery in St Petersburg, where Ol'ga, her mother and her husband were buried.<sup>124</sup>

Mariia died two years later on 12 June. She had suffered two brain haemorrhages, the first of which happened on 7 June.<sup>125</sup> Her death was announced the following day in the press. When Mariia died, a huge state funeral was arranged for her, suggesting that despite her earlier political disgrace, the Party had to recognise her popularity. By Stalin's own decision, Mariia was buried in the Kremlin wall, and the committee set up to arrange the funeral suggested that 35–40,000 workers should be organised to amass in Red Square and along the procession of Mariia's funeral.<sup>126</sup> This was also done.<sup>127</sup> Some efforts were made, however, to try to minimise coverage of her political career (even if they were not always successful). Initially, Mariia's ashes were to be displayed in a room in GUM,<sup>128</sup> not the Columned Hall in the House of Unions as Nadezhda requested.<sup>129</sup> This decision was overturned, and the Columned Hall was used. It was opened to the public on the 14 June until 5pm and an 'endless line of people' queued to pay their respects.<sup>130</sup> Mariia's urn was then carried, by Stalin and Molotov, amongst others, to Red Square, which had been closed off to the public an hour before they were due to arrive.<sup>131</sup>

Although Mariia's death was announced on the radio with a short description of her life, no reference was made to her work at *Pravda* or the Rabkor, or to her pre-revolutionary career. Instead it named her as

'a senior member of the Party and Lenin's closest helper', as well as mentioning her last role as a member of the Bureau of the Commission of Soviet Control.<sup>132</sup> When a longer biography of Mariia was broadcast on 14 June, her work at *Pravda* was summed up in one line.<sup>133</sup>

Krupskaia's obituary of Mariia was the most detailed account of her political career both before and after the revolution and in some ways pushed the boundaries of acceptability. Nadezhda stressed that from the split of the Party in 1903 Mariia was a staunch Bolshevik and, in a hint that Mariia had not been undermined by her political disgrace, wrote that Mariia 'knew many people, but she also knew the masses, she remembered the workers, amongst whom, at one time, she worked, she remembered the Rabkors'.<sup>134</sup> More than anyone Nadezhda emphasised how close Mariia had been to Lenin, how much she had helped him and supported him throughout the underground years and during the difficult times of his leadership, when attempts were made on his life and when he was dying. Nadezhda highlighted the domestic help Mariia had given Lenin, writing: '[Mariia] always surrounded Il'ich with special care: she took trouble over his clothes, nourishment, comfort, over anything so that he would not have to think about trivialities'.<sup>135</sup> Lastly, and perhaps to protect Mariia's reputation, she concluded: 'Mariia Il'inichna especially loved comrade Stalin, remembering the whole of his role in the work of realising Lenin's testament'.<sup>136</sup> Others, too, seem to have tried to rehabilitate Mariia's name in their commemorations of her. In a letter to *Pravda*, Dmitrii, Stasova, the Krzhizhanovskii, Radchenko, Kudelli, Kalinina, Nadezhda and others wrote that Mariia was a 'crystal pure Bolshevik'.<sup>137</sup>

Telegrams from across Russia flooded to the Party to commemorate her life, but most of them also followed the formula defined by the Party's first announcement of her death.<sup>138</sup> The Old Bolshevik, R. Zemliachka, writing for the Soviet Control Commission, mentioned Mariia's first activities as an underground revolutionary but gave no more details of her career except for her post at the Committee and as head of the Bureau of Complaints.<sup>139</sup> In a letter from another group of workers from the Bureau of Complaints Mariia was described as 'our deeply loved leader, an old Bolshevik, [and] sister [and] closest helper of Il'ich'.<sup>140</sup> Mariia's popularity in and around Moscow was made clear by a telegram, published in *Pravda*, from the Moscow Oblast and Town Committee of the Communist Party, referring to Mariia as a 'devotee' of the Party and calling her death 'a heavy loss'.<sup>141</sup>

Mariia was consistently portrayed as Lenin's helper in the various biographical articles that were published in *Pravda* on 13 June. One,

which, unusually, praised Mariia's *Pravda* and Rabkor work, was entitled 'Lenin's Faithful Helper' and described how Lenin 'always turned to Mariia' when he needed help while in emigration.<sup>142</sup> Another described Mariia as 'Vladimir Il'ich Lenin's closest friend, his devoted and faithful helper and secretary'.<sup>143</sup> Biographical articles also stressed the Lenin's influence over Mariia. One described how Mariia joined the revolutionary movement 'following her brother's example', while another wrote that 'from her earliest childhood Mariia Il'inichna was influenced by her [intellectually] brilliant brother Vladimir Il'ich'.<sup>144</sup>

At least one person argued that a full biography of Mariia should be published. On 14 June, an Old Bolshevik, whom Mariia had helped, called I.M. Dineev, wrote to N. Antipov<sup>145</sup> arguing that a detailed autobiography of Mariia, as well as a collection of reminiscences about her should be published. He closed his letter asserting that: 'The memory of Mariia Il'inichna, as a person who worked for the good of the people, will live eternally in the hearts of millions.'<sup>146</sup> No such biography was published until after Stalin's death. After Krupskaia's death and state funeral it was made clear that no more was to be written about her.<sup>147</sup> A similar, if not complete, process occurred regarding Mariia and Anna. In the years between Mariia's death and Stalin's, only four articles were published about Mariia.<sup>148</sup> In Anna's case, no articles on her biography were written. I.F. Popov's 1949 play about the Ul'ianovs, called *Sem'ia* (*The Family*), was criticised heavily and was not mentioned in *The Great Soviet Encyclopaedia*, neither in the first publication, nor in subsequent supplements.<sup>149</sup> Only the briefest of mentions, if any, were made of the sisters in articles about the revolutionary movement.<sup>150</sup>

After Stalin's death in March 1953, and more importantly, after Khrushchev's secret speech in February 1956, however, the sisters' lives were written about once more and elevated still further, particularly Mariia's, as her political reputation was rehabilitated. After 1956, there was a flood of publications about the sisters and references to them in general works.<sup>151</sup> The first (short) biography of Mariia was published in 1959.<sup>152</sup> Entitled *Bol'shoi drug rabsel'korov* (*The Rabsel'kors' Great Friend*), it is a unique work on Mariia because it refers only to her career after 1924, thus preventing a Lenin-centric focus (although he is quoted regularly).<sup>153</sup> Aspects of the personality cult surrounding Mariia are clear and there is, as might be expected, no mention of her clash with Stalin nor her removal from *Pravda*, but this does not detract from the main point of the book, that Mariia was an influential political figure in the Soviet regime.<sup>154</sup> The number of reminiscences about the sisters col-

lected in their personal archival files suggests a determined effort to preserve their memory.

Although the sisters' political careers are discussed in detail in these texts, they tend to emphasise the centrality of Lenin in the women's lives and contribute to the personality cults around the sisters. Descriptions of the two women follow the celebratory formula used in the Soviet regime to commemorate revolutionaries, and bear some of the hallmarks of the Lenin cult. Anna and Mariia are described as having been helpful, democratic in outlook and able to treat everyone the same; they had a good sense of humour, and while they were strict about work, they led without being oppressive. Levitskii gave a detailed account of Anna's personality:

Anna Il'inichna charmed with her simplicity and sensitivity to another's unhappiness. [...] There wasn't an occasion when a person, having turned to Anna Il'inichna for help, did not meet on her side a sympathetic echo; but still oftener, she, not waiting for a request, on her own initiative, showed her care where her sensitive soul suggested a need for that care. Simplicity and modesty were immutable qualities of Anna Il'inichna.<sup>155</sup>

Descriptions of Mariia follow a similar pattern. Recalling her long acquaintance with Mariia, Bystrova wrote:

From our first meeting, [Mariia] made a charming impression on me. I immediately felt so at ease with her, it was as if we were already old friends [...] Mariia Il'inichna was exceptionally attentive and sympathetic to every worker.<sup>156</sup>

Remembering meeting the sisters, people tended to describe feeling nervous about meeting relations of the great Lenin. In a collection of reminiscences about famous Bolshevik women, P. Posvianskii, the publisher of the *Old Bolsheviks* series, described how lucky he had been to be able to work with Anna Ul'ianova, devoted as she was 'to the great cause of the proletarian revolution' and to her role as 'the keeper of her family tradition', but also how intimidated he had been when he first met her.<sup>157</sup> Medvedeva wrote of meeting Anna for the first time: 'The idea that I would see now V.I. Lenin's sister aroused in me a feeling of reverence and some kind of incomprehensible shyness.'<sup>158</sup> Similarly, people described being shy and awe-struck when they met Mariia. Rabinovich did not 'know where to hide his trembling hands' and



answered Mariia's questions 'incoherently'.<sup>159</sup> He was simply overwhelmed by the fact that 'in front of him was the old revolutionary, sister, closest friend and helper of Lenin'.<sup>160</sup> The cartoonist B. Efimov wrote that the first time he met Mariia, he forgot why he had come to *Pravda's* editorial office.<sup>161</sup>

Huge emphasis is placed on Anna and Mariia's relationship with Lenin, as sisters, helpers and supporters. Zaslavskii described Mariia as Lenin's 'constant and irreplaceable helper' and Bonch-Bruевич called Mariia Lenin's 'faithful aide-de-camp'.<sup>162</sup> Even helping Mariia to help Lenin was seen as an honour in later years. For example, K. Piskunova-Alekseeva remembered proudly her time as a home help for the Ul'ianovs at Gorki, saying: 'I am happy that I lived in Lenin's family, happy that I helped Mariia Il'inichna a little in her care over Vladimir Il'ich'.<sup>163</sup> Anna receives similar treatment. Savitskaia described Anna as 'Vladimir Il'ich's genuine helper', while another wrote that she was Lenin's 'friend and helper'.<sup>164</sup>

The sisters are often represented as mother figures. Anna in particular is portrayed as the mother of the Ul'ianov family and as the 'guardian of the wonderful Ul'ianov family tradition'.<sup>165</sup> Kalinina portrayed Anna as the mother of all the children the DPC helped, writing: 'Anna Il'inichna's huge, perfect memory allowed her to follow personally the children's upbringing. She knew them, directed their growth and development. She devoted a lot time to this business'.<sup>166</sup> Kudelli asserted that 'no-one loved children as [Anna] did'.<sup>167</sup>

Mariia was also depicted in this way, with the first example appearing in the mid-1920s, when an affectionate caricature of Mariia was featured in *Prozhektor*, a popular journal with light-hearted articles. She was drawn sitting on a pile of books, with a Rabkor on her knee. He is sucking a dummy.<sup>168</sup> This motherly image is used again and again in a collection of memoirs about Mariia's work at *Pravda*. Tonkov, a director of a children's home in Kazan who met with Mariia at *Pravda* to discuss his work and ways in which the lot of *besprizorniki* might be improved, admitted that he would have liked to have called her 'my kind old friend, my mother, my sister'.<sup>169</sup> *Pravda* colleagues, Kossov and Verkhovtsev wrote, remembered Mariia's 'sensitivity and kindness' and saw her as a 'wise mother, for whom they were filled with respect and whom they feared to disappoint'.<sup>170</sup>

Mariia was even ascribed a spiritual quality by some biographers. This in fact began in Mariia's lifetime, with Kol'tsov's article 'Zhena. Sestra.'. He described how Mariia's 'strict eyes' would 'watch over' the Soviet people, noting when they behaved wrongly.<sup>171</sup> One colleague of

Mariia wrote that 'her eyes looked not only at you, but into you, as if peeping into your very soul'.<sup>172</sup> Pogodin developed this image further, writing: 'Mariia Il'inichna was the soul of the editorial staff, a soul, and not a despotic leader, more precisely, a superior, who alone knew everything and understood everything.'<sup>173</sup>

Anna and Mariia also began to be associated with an earlier, (supposedly) happier part of the Soviet regime, even while they were still alive. When N. Slotishchev wrote to Anna in 1933, he remembered meeting her for the first time in the 1920s and added: 'Much water has flowed since those times, but kind people are needed now, just the same.'<sup>174</sup> A *Pravda* colleague, Riabova, described in great detail the many visitors Mariia received at the newspaper offices, from family members including Dmitrii and Anna, with Gora, to members of the government like Sverdlov, M. I. Kalinin, who was an Old Bolshevik and now official head of state, Kollontai and Ol'minskii.<sup>175</sup> In nostalgic terms that seem wistful for a happier time, Riabova wrote:

They found a friendly and warm environment when they came to the editorial office in the evening. In those days the walls were hung with friendly caricatures, cartoons, epigrams, skillfully executed by Dena, Mitnitskii and others. Difficulties and cares were forgotten. Laughter rang out, revolutionary and folk songs were sung. Mariia Il'inichna came to these evenings, sat amongst her colleagues, joked, laughed, requested her favourite songs to be sung and sang herself together with everyone.<sup>176</sup>

In the Soviet Union, therefore, with only a short break during the last two decades of Stalin's regime, Anna and Mariia occupied a celebrated and respected place amongst the great revolutionary figures of the Party. In Soviet culture the fact that the sisters were individuals who combined their own political career, with a close relationship with Lenin and a genuine concern for the masses, particularly the workers and the homeless, meant that their historical reputations were guaranteed. They were mythologised, with increasing emphasis on the centrality of Lenin to their lives, yet the sisters' own political careers were never entirely overlooked. More recently, in post-Soviet investigations into their lives, the focus has been on their political careers, particularly their relationship to Stalin, with far less emphasis on Lenin's influence.<sup>177</sup>

As we have seen, the sisters have been treated very differently in English-language history. In researching Anna and Mariia, historians

have relied mainly on the sisters' published memoirs and have taken, by and large, at face value the emphasis the sisters placed on caring for Vladimir as well as their self-deprecating attitude when they did refer to their own careers, without due consideration of the context in which the sisters were writing. Nor have they taken into account the fact that sources such as the sisters' reminiscences require 'a careful, sympathetic reading', a reading between the lines, to understand their full meaning.<sup>178</sup> As a result, historians have accepted the image of the sisters as Lenin's devoted supporters without political views of their own. With the recent exception of McDermid, historians of women, who pioneered the sympathetic reading approach, have also overlooked the political lives of the sisters.<sup>179</sup> It is possible that the pervasive nature of the personality cults surrounding the sisters and Lenin has made historians sceptical about the majority of Soviet descriptions of the sisters' lives, characters and careers. While the image of the sisters portrayed in Soviet culture ensured their place in Russian-language history, it also created the solar-system myth which doomed Anna and Mariia to anonymity in English-language research.

# Conclusion

When Mirsky wrote that Anna and Mariia's 'revolutionary importance' was both 'enhanced and eclipsed by the immense figure of Vladimir Il'ich', he identified the effect that being related to Lenin had on the sisters' portrayal in history.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the enhancing and eclipsing effect had an impact on the portrayal of all aspects of the three sisters' lives. Ol'ga's childhood relationship with Vladimir and her early death were enhanced to the point that they eclipsed her independent experiences of the revolutionary student community in St Petersburg as well as her own efforts to acquaint herself with its ideas. Anna and Mariia's relationship with Vladimir, the help and support they gave to him and their work to record his biography after his death were enhanced. Conversely their independent roles as activists in the revolutionary movement were eclipsed, as were their contribution to the Bolshevik regime after 1917, their part in the political upheavals during the Stalinist years and their reputation with the Soviet public. The twin aims of this book were to investigate the process by which the portrayal of Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia's lives became distorted, as well as to re-evaluate the established view of the sisters.

Born to loving and progressive parents, Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia were given the opportunity to gain as full an education as pre-revolutionary Russian society allowed. Attending university at a time of political and societal ferment almost guaranteed that they would come into contact with revolutionary ideas, but it was Aleksandr's involvement in the conspiracy to assassinate the Tsar that ensured that the Ul'ianov sisters would devote the rest of their lives to revolutionary activity. When Ol'ga died, she had already made and maintained contact with Aleksandr's fellow revolutionary students.

Anna and Mariia soon joined the Social-Democratic movement proper and began careers as underground political activists and organisers. Motivated by their own distinct beliefs in Social-Democracy, Anna and Mariia both operated as members of the RSDRP in a variety of locations and situations. They forged and maintained links between party organisations in Russia and abroad, and they proved themselves to be highly skilled in the production and distribution of such publications as *Iskra*, *Rabotnitsa* and *Pravda*.

After the October revolution, Anna and Mariia developed their political roles further and pursued careers in fields that were of specific interest to them. Anna led the Department for the Protection of Childhood, organising conferences and taking a personal interest in the running of children's homes. Anna found her political voice in this work, helping to formulate policy on how the Soviet regime should best raise and care for its children. Mariia became the executive secretary of *Pravda*, but found her true vocation in developing and leading the Rabkor movement. Mariia became a well-known figure, who was often celebrated in the pages of *Pravda* as a revolutionary and a defender of the Rabkors' rights.

Understanding the nature of the sisters' revolutionary careers transforms the established picture of their relationship with Vladimir. They worked closely with him throughout his life, not as unquestioning disciples, but as political comrades who shared the same fundamental beliefs, though not always the same responses to key situations. Their relationship was based on co-operation and exchange. Before the revolution, Vladimir relied on his sisters' regular reports on the situation in Russia as much as Anna and Mariia benefited from being in close contact with one of the leading figures of the Party. During Lenin's leadership of the new Soviet government, the Ul'ianovs discussed policy round the kitchen table and in nightly telephone conversations, and Anna and Mariia enjoyed a privileged and secure position in the regime that was shared by few others.

Lenin's incapacitation and death heralded a period of power struggle and political manoeuvring. It also meant that the security that Anna and Mariia had enjoyed was threatened, and both had to negotiate a place for themselves in the new order, as well as establish a relationship with the emerging leader of the Soviet regime, Stalin. In Anna's case, moving to Istpart meant that she left governmental work behind, yet working as Lenin's biographer touched on sensitive political issues, including that of anti-semitism in the Soviet Union. Although this issue brought Anna into conflict with Stalin, her willingness to accept his ruling meant that she lived out her days in peace.

Mariia's experience was more complex. Initially, Mariia supported Stalin and Bukharin in the economic debates of the mid-1920s, risking her personal relationship with Nadezhda in the process. However, as Stalin turned against Bukharin in the final stages of the consolidation of his power, Mariia sacrificed her career to defend Bukharin against the Party's attacks. In both these decisions, Mariia was motivated by her belief in the need for collective leadership of the Party and her conviction that, above all, Party unity should be maintained. Although Mariia lost her job at *Pravda*, her belief in the revolution remained unshaken and she demonstrated her resilience when she re-established her political career in the early 1930s. Despite the various difficulties that Anna and Mariia faced in the political arena, both were popular amongst the Soviet public after 1917, partly because of their connection to Lenin, but also because of their concerted efforts to help others, from Rabkors facing persecution to homeless children.

The second issue that has concerned this book has been the process by which the image of the sisters has been distorted over time and much of their life's work forgotten in English-language histories. Before 1917, Anna and Mariia were respected by their comrades as revolutionaries and activists, and seen by the police as a dangerous elements that had to be monitored and contained. Their relationship to Lenin was acknowledged by all, but only as one aspect of the women's lives amongst many. This was also the case in the years 1917 to 1924, when Bolshevik women were expected above all to be dedicated to the building of the regime to the sacrifice of their personal lives. Anna and Mariia were known to the masses as political figures and almost no references were made to their connection to Lenin.

After Lenin's death, Anna and Mariia's relationship to him became increasingly important and well known, and the sisters gained status as members of the by now hallowed Ul'ianov family. The changes in Soviet policy towards women, which partially returned them to a nurturing role, the development of the Lenin cult and the promotion of a Bolshevik-centric 'correct' party history meant that though their political careers were never forgotten, Anna and Mariia's support for Lenin and the sisterly help they showed him was increasingly emphasised. Mariia's political disgrace ensured that her previously celebrated *Pravda* and Rabkor work was rarely mentioned. As a result of a combination of Bolshevik modesty, self-censorship and lack of time, Mariia and Anna's autobiographical writing did little to challenge this portrayal of their lives.

After Anna and Mariia's deaths, there was a determined, if unofficial campaign to curtail public discussion of the sisters, which lasted until

Khrushchev's secret speech after Stalin's death. As the Lenin cult was revived, it became acceptable once more to write about the sisters and interest in their lives became more enthusiastic than ever. Celebratory articles and books were published about both women, which, while giving rich details about their careers, tended to make Lenin the central figure in their lives. They also showed signs of mini-personality cults evolving around the two women. Mariia in particular became an all-seeing, kind and generous model of a communist, sharing many of the qualities Lenin was said to have possessed.

Analysis of English-language histories of the revolution and biographies of Lenin has shown that in the main the cult-dominated images of the sisters propagated in Soviet writing have been accepted uncritically. Indeed, the portrayal of the sisters has been simplified further: Anna and Mariia's devotion to Lenin has been focused on at the expense of discussion of their political careers, if they are referred to at all.

This book has redressed this imbalance and has shown Anna and Mariia to have been interesting historical figures in their own right. They were activists and organisers, sisters and carers, politicians and social campaigners. They were at ease amongst the grass-roots workers of the underground movement and the Commissars of the Soviet Union, and while they enjoyed the privileges of their position, they also used their influence to improve the lives of others. Although their relationship with Lenin had an impact on their lives before and after the revolution, it did not prevent Anna and Mariia from acting according to their own beliefs or from pursuing their own paths in life.

In a letter of condolence to Dmitrii Ul'ianov on the death of Mariia, the Soviet historian, A.I. Iakovlev, wrote: 'It should console you that the figure of Mariia Il'inichna is indelibly engraved in the chronicle of the world revolution near her great brother.'<sup>2</sup> This book has ensured that both Anna and Mariia have been given their rightful place in the English-language history of the Russian revolution.

# Notes

## Introduction

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2. Marilyn Yalom, 'Biography as Autobiography: Adèle Hugo, Witness of Her Husband's Life', in *Revealing Lives: Autobiography, Biography and Gender*, ed. by Susan Groag Bell and Marilyn Yalom (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), p. 53.
3. Larissa Vasilieva, *Kremlin Wives*, ed. and trans. by Cathy Porter (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1994), p. 9.
4. See, for example, Ronald W. Clark, *Lenin: The Man Behind the Mask* (London: Faber & Faber, 1988), Louis Fischer, *The Life of Lenin* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964) or Robert Service, *Lenin: A Biography* (London: Macmillan, 2000).
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6. *Ibid.*
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11. Service, p. 84.
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13. Vladimir Diagilev, *M.I. Ul'ianova* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1980), p. 13.
14. R.A. Kovnator, *Ol'ga Ul'ianova* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1971), p. 78.
15. Service, p. 160.
16. Valentimov, *Early Years*, pp. 151–152.
17. Stefan T. Possony, *Lenin: The Compulsive Revolutionary* (London: W.H. Allen, 1964), p. 7.
18. L.D. Trotsky, *Trotsky's Diary in Exile, 1935*, trans. by Elena Zaridnaia (London: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 33.
19. Service, p. 265.
20. Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 33.
21. Sian Reynolds, 'Introduction', in *Women, State and Revolution: Essays on Power and Gender in Europe Since 1789*, ed. by Sian Reynolds (Sussex: Wheat-sheaf Books, 1986), p. xiii. Here Reynolds is referring to the plight of



- women in history generally, but her comment is particularly applicable to the treatment of the Ul'ianov women by English-language historians of the Russian revolution.
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  23. Ann-Louise Shapiro, 'Introduction: History and Feminist Theory, or Talking Back to the Beadle', in *History and Feminist Theory*, ed. by Ann-Louise Shapiro (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1992), p. 5.
  24. Reynolds, in *Women, State and Revolution*, p. xiv.
  25. I.D. Remezovskii, *Ul'ianovy v Kieve: 1903–1904 gg.* (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo pri kievskom gosudarstvennom universitete, 1979), p. 67.
  26. Barbara Evans Clements, *Bolshevik Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 56.
  27. Letter, Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova-Elizarova (henceforth A.I.) to Mikhail Aleksandrovich, 13 October 1923, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 265, l. 6 (unless otherwise stated, all archival material is from RGASPI).
  28. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 298.
  29. Angela Woollacott, 'The Fragmentary Subject: Feminist History, Official Records, and Self-representation', in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 1998, Volume 21, No. 4, p. 330.
  30. *Ibid.*, p. 331; Selma Leydessorff, Luisa Passerini and Paul Thompson, 'Introduction', in *Gender and Memory*, ed. by Selma Leydessorff, Luisa Passerini and Paul Thompson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 2; Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 303.
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  32. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 298.
  33. Marianne Liljeström, 'The Remarkable Revolutionary Woman: Rituality and Performativity in Soviet Women's Autobiographical Texts from the 1970s', in *Models of Self: Russian Women's Autobiographical Texts*, ed. by Marianne Liljeström, Arja Rosenholm and Irina Savkina (Helsinki: Kikimova Publications, 2000), p. 82.
  34. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 298.
  35. Pauline Polkey, 'Reading History through Autobiography: Politically Active Women of Late Nineteenth-Century Britain and their Personal Narratives', in *Women's History Review*, 2000, Volume 9, No. 3, p. 495.
  36. Woollacott, in *Women's Studies International Forum*, 1998, Volume 21, No. 4, p. 333.
  37. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 301.
  38. Liljeström, in *Models of Self*, p. 90.
  39. *Ibid.*
  40. Valentinov, *Early Years*, p. 140; G.A. Solomon, *Lenin i ego sem'ia Ul'ianovy* (Paris: 1931), p. 8.
  41. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 241 and p. 257.
  42. Moira Donald, '"What did you do in the Revolution, Mother?": Image, Myth and Prejudice in the Russian Revolution', in *Gender and History*, 1995, Volume 7, No. 1, p. 87.

43. See, for example, M.G. Shtein, *Ul'ianovy i Leniny: tainy rodoslovnoi i psevdonima* (St Petersburg: VIRD, 1997) and R.M. Savitskaia, 'A.I. Ul'ianova-Elizarova – istorik leninskoii partii', in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, pp. 99–112.
44. Mirsky, pp. 3–4.

## Chapter 1 Childhood and Education

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3. *Ibid.*; Catriona Kelly, 'Educating Tat'yana: Manners, Motherhood and Moral Education (Vospitanie), 1760–1840', in *Gender in Russian History and Culture*, ed. by Linda Edmondson (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 23.
4. See Appendix 1.
5. 'Mat' Vladimira Il'icha', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 233.
6. 'Otets Vladimira Il'icha Lenina – Il'ia Nikolaevich Ul'ianov, 1831–1886', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 221.
7. Tumarkin, p. 34.
8. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre Il'iche Ul'ianove', in *A.I. Ul'ianova-Elizarova: O V.I. Lenine i sem'e Ul'ianovykh. Vospominaniia, ocherki, pis'ma, stat'i*, ed. by A.M. Sovokin (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1988), p. 33.
9. A.I., 'K stat'i G.V. Nazar'eva "Iz vesennikh vospominanii chlena simbirskogo uezdnogo uchilishchnogo soveta"', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, pp. 258–259.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 257–258; A.I., 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre Il'iche Ul'ianove', in *Aleksandr Il'ich Ul'ianov i delo 1 marta 1887 g.*, ed. by A.I. Ul'ianova (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1927), p. 42.
11. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 52 and p. 49.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 27 and p. 31.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
14. See, for example, *Ibid.*, in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 47.
15. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 62.
16. Valentinov, *Early Years*, p. 121.
17. *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ul'ianovy, Perepiska 1883–1900*, ed. by Iu.A. Akhapiin and K.F. Bogdanova (Moscow: 'Mysl', 1981), pp. 39–40.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
19. Letter, Aleksandr Il'ich to A.I., 26 April 1887, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ul'ianovy*, p. 40.
20. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 24.
21. A. Medvedeva, 'Moi vstrechi s Ul'ianovymi', October 1949, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 18, l. 7.

22. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 78.
23. M.I., 'Iz vospominanii', in *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine*, ed. by G.N. Golikov, G.D. Obichkin, M.Ia. Pankratova *et al*, 4 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1979), Volume 1, p. 129.
24. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu (Avtobiografiia)', in *Mariia Il'ichna Ul'ianova*, ed. by S.V. Tsukasov (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Pravda', 1978), p. 7.
25. M.I., 'Iz vospominanii', in *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine*, Volume 1, p. 129.
26. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu', in *Mariia Il'ichna Ul'ianova*, p. 8.
27. Solomon, *Lenin*, p. 26.
28. 'Vospominanie V.A. Levitskogo', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 389, l. 1.
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30. Elizaveta Drabkina, 'A.I. Ul'ianova-Elizarova', in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, ed. by N.S. Gudkova, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1985), p. 141.
31. Letter, A.I. to N.A. D'iakonova, 20 April 1888, in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 304; Solomon, *Lenin*, p. 16.
32. Letter, A.I. to Mariia Aleksandrovna Ul'ianova (henceforth M.A.), 12 May, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 127, l. 14. The year is not recorded on the letter, but it must have been written after 1911 because Anna referred to her adopted son Gora.
33. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 22 May 1923, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 40; 'Vospominaniia vnuchatoi plemiannitsy M.T. Elizarova A.A. Pushkovoii ob A.I. Elizarovoi-Ul'ianovoi (1922 g.), s upominaniem V.I. Lenina', 8 May 1979, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 457, l. 1.
34. In fact the age gap is widened if you compare Anna, Vladimir and Mariia only. There were six years between Anna and Vladimir, and eight between Vladimir and Mariia (see the family tree in Appendix 1).
35. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 42; 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 43.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 18; 'Pervaia podruga', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 250.
37. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 62.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
39. 'K stat'i G.V. Nazar'eva', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 259; 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 43.
40. Kovnator, p. 7.
41. B.N. Karamzina, 'Vospominaniia o sem'e Ul'ianovykh', 8 February 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 361, l. 6.
42. 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 114.
43. Solomon, *Lenin*, p. 29.
44. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 42.
45. *Ibid.*; 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 43; 'Pervaia podruga Vladimira Il'icha', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 251.
46. Letter, M.I. to Ol'ga Il'ichna (henceforth O.I.), November 1890, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 226, l. 1.
47. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 4 January 1888, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 207, l. 6.

48. M.I., quoted in Service, p. 63.
49. Service, p. 84.
50. E. Ia. Drabkina, *A.I. Ul'ianova-Elizarova* (Moscow: Politizdat, 1979), p. 8.
51. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 73; 'Pervaia podrugā', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 252.
52. Kovnator, pp. 17–20.
53. O.D. Ul'ianova, 'Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 18.
54. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 39.
55. *Ibid.*
56. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 49.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
58. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 51.
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60. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 22 August 1888, in f.14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 9; M.I., 'Sestra Ol'ga Il'inichna', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 208, l. 9.
61. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 24 March 1889, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 16; 'Pervaia podrugā', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 251.
62. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 6 April 1889, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 20.
63. Kovnator, p. 106.
64. 'Pervaia podrugā', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 252.
65. Letter, Samara Gubernator to Police Department, 18 April 1890, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 9, l. 2; P. Durnii, of the Police Department, to Samara Gubernator, 19 April 1890, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 9, l. 3.
66. Z.P. Krzhizhanovskaia, quoted in M.I., 'Sestra Ol'ga Il'inichna', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 208, l. 10.
67. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 68.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
69. *Ibid.*
70. A.I., 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine*, Volume 1, p. 17.
71. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 2 September 1888, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 207, l. 10.
72. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 64; Letter, O.I. to A.I., 5 March 1891, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ul'ianovy*, p. 64.
73. V.V. Bartenev, 'Vospominaniia peterburzhitsa o vtoroi polovine 80-kh godov', in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 18.
74. This is the Russian plural of the word. *Zemliachestvo* in the singular.
75. E.G. Salita, *Stasovy v Peterburge – Petrograde* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1982), p. 240.
76. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 81.
77. Bartenev, in *Delo 1 marta*, pp. 18–19.
78. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 63.
79. P.P. Elizarov, 'Pervoe politicheskoe delo A.I. Ul'ianovoi-Elizarovoi', 5 July 1964, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 465, l. 3.
80. Bartenev, in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 19.

81. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 80; I.N. Chebotarev, 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre Il'iche Ul'ianove i peterburgskom studenchestve 1883–1887 gg.', in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 244.
82. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 3.
83. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 76.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
85. A.I. in *Delo 1 marta*, pp. 80–81.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 93.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Letter, A.I. Ul'ianov to I.N. Ul'ianov, 6 October 1884, in *Perepiska sem'i Ul'ianovykh, 1883–1917*, ed. by N.N. Simagin and A.G. Vinogradova (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1969), pp. 16–17.
89. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 81.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
91. Bartenev, in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 18.
92. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 80.
93. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 93.
94. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 76.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 67; I.P. Foote, Introduction to *Saltykov-Shchedrin's The Golovlyovs: A Critical Companion*, ed. by I.P. Foote (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1997), p. i. Shchedrin was M.E. Saltykov's pen-name. He was commonly known as Saltykov-Shchedrin or, as Anna referred to him, as Shchedrin.
97. Stasova was also the paternal aunt of E.D. Stasova (Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 22).
98. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 67.
99. *Ibid.*, p. 89; N.A. Dobroliubov, *Selected Philosophical Essays*, trans. by J. Fineberg (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1948), p. xii.
100. A.I. in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 102.
101. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 87.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
104. I.D. Lukashevich, 'Iz vospominaniia', in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 189.
105. James D. White, *Lenin: The Practice and Theory of Revolution* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 21–22 and p. 25; A.I., introduction to I.D. Lukashevich, 'Iz vospominaniia', in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 184.
106. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, pp. 106–107.
107. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 97.
108. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 116.
109. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 93 and p. 102.
110. Letter, Gubernator of Kazan to G. Laishevskii, Uezd Chief of Police, 26 May 1887, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 13, l. 3.
111. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 103. Peskovskii was the husband of Mariia Aleksandrovna's cousin, Ekaterina Ivanovna Veretennikova.
112. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu' in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 7.
113. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 4 January 1888, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 207, l. 5.

114. Alekseev, p. 64.
115. Kovnator, p. 41.
116. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 26 September 1890, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 41; Anatolii Ivanovich Ivanskii, *Molodie gody V.I. Lenina po vospominaniiam sovremennikov i dokumentam* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo TsK VLKSM 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1958), p. 236.
117. Trotsky, *Young Lenin*, p. 118.
118. 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 119.
119. A.I., 'Primechaniia k stat'e A. Tabeiko "Iz proshlogo tov. Lenina"', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 294.
120. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 3.
121. 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 119.
122. Letter, Kazan Gubernator to Department of Police, 18 September 1888, in GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, no. 20, l. 35.
123. 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 120.
124. N. Arnol'd, *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh v Samare* (Kuibyshev: Kuibyshevskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1979), p. 27. Mariia Aleksandrovna's intervention ensured that Anna was able to move with the rest of the family to Alakaevka (Letter, M.A. to Police Chief, 11 November 1889, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 15, l. 30).
125. P.P. Elizarov, 'Vykhod Anny Il'inichny zamuzh', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 465, l. 10.
126. Solomon, *Lenin*, p. 27.
127. 'Vospominanii Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 6 and l. 9; Georgii Iakovlevich Lozgachev-Elizarov, *Nezabyvaemoe* (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1970), p. 107; 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 70 and pp. 85–86.
128. Kovnator, p. 84.
129. Letter, Samara Gubernator to Police Department, 18 April 1890, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 9, l. 2; P. Durnii, of the Police Department, to Samara Gubernator, 19 April 1890, in f. 11, o. 4, ed. khr. 9, l. 3.
130. 'Pervaia podrug'a', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 252.
131. Kovnator, p. 57. Her aunt died in 1888. It is not clear where Ol'ga lived after that while still attending music school.
132. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 25 September 1887, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 3.
133. *Ibid.*
134. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 4 January 1888, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 5.
135. Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 6 April 1889, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 20.
136. Kovnator, p. 78; Letter, O.I. to A.F. Shcherbo, 4 January 1888, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 207, l. 5.
137. Kovnator, p. 127.
138. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
139. Letter, O.I. to V.I., 20 January 1891, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 54.
140. Letter, O.I. to V.I., written in the second half of December 1890, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 49.
141. Kovnator, p. 123 and p. 127.

142. 'Sestra Ol'ga Il'inichna', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 264.
143. Letter, O.I. to A.I., written between 5 and 16 March, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 64.
144. Letter, O.I. to V.I., 20 January 1891, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 53.
145. Letter, O.I. to M.A., 15 February 1891, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 58.
146. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 26 September 1890, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 41.
147. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 26 October 1890, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 39.
148. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 26 September 1890, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 41.
149. *Ibid.*
150. Kovnator, p. 117.
151. Letter, O.I. to M.A., 21 February 1891, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 60.
152. 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 129.
153. L. Kunetskaia and K. Mashtakova, *Krupskaia* (Moscow: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1973), p. 22.
154. N. Krupskaia, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Partiinoe izdatel'stvo, 1932), pp. 12–13.
155. *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, p. 44; Kovnator, p. 117.
156. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 26 October 1890, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ulianovy*, pp. 43–44.
157. Letter, O.I. to A.I., 21 February 1891, in *Ibid.*, p. 60.
158. Letter, O.I. to A.I., written between 5 and 16 March 1891, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 61.
159. L. Kunetskaia, and K. Mashtakova, *Mariia Ul'ianova* (Moscow: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1979), p. 20.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Catherine Merridale, *Night of Stone: Death and Memory in Russia* (London: Granta Books, 2000), p. 53.
163. Kovnator, p. 133.
164. *Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine*, Volume 4, p. 462.
165. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu', in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 7.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
167. 'Iz samarskogo (alakaevskogo) perioda (1889–1893 gg.)', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 57.
168. Eramasov, quoted in 'Iz samarskogo', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 57.
169. 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu', in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 8.
170. R. Lavrov, 'Stranitsy zhizni (Kratkaia biografii)', in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 26.
171. Letter, V.I. to M.I., 13 December 1894, in *Lenin-Krupskaia-Ul'ianovy*, p. 75; Letter, V.I. to M.I., 24 December 1894, in *Ibid.*, p. 77.
172. M.I., 'Iz samarskogo (Alakaevskogo) perioda (1889–1893 gg.)', in *Institut Marksa-Engel'sa-Lenina pri TsK KPSS, Vospominaniia o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine*, 10 vols. (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1989), Volume 1, p. 208 and p. 192.
173. *Ibid.*
174. M.I., 'Iz vospominanii', in *Vospominaniia o Vladimire*, Volume 1, p. 192.

## Chapter 2 The Underground

1. Police report, April 1892, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 4.
2. S.I. Mitskevich, *Revoliutsionnaia Moskva, 1888–1905* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1940), p. 144.
3. R.S. Poliakova, *Sestry Il'icha* (Saratov: Privolzhskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1972), pp. 24–5.
4. A.I., quoted in Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, No. 1, 1936, p. 202; Mitskevich, *Revoliutsionnaia Moskva*, p. 146.
5. Poliakova, p. 25; S. Mitskevich, 'Na zare rabochago dvizheniia v Moskve', in *Tekushchii moment* (Moscow: Tipografiia A.P. Poplavskii, 1906), p. 15.
6. Mitskevich, in *Tekushchii moment*, p. 15.
7. Poliakova, p. 26.
8. Drabkina, p. 60; Mitskevich, *Revoliutsionnaia Moskva*, pp. 145–146.
9. Police report, 27 December 1896, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 134.
10. Drabkina, p. 61; V.D. Bonch-Bruevich, *Vospominaniia o Lenine* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1965), p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
12. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 3.
13. A. Il'in-Zhenevskii, 'Kak gotovilsia pervii s"ezd RSDRP', in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1928, No. 1, p. 16.
14. *Ibid.*
15. A.M. Pankratova, L.M. Ivanov and V.D. Mochalov, eds., *Istoriia Moskvy* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo akademii nauk S.S.S.R, 1955), Volume 5, p. 74.
16. Mitskevich, *Revoliutsionnaia Moskva*, p. 146.
17. A.I., 'Odin iz pervykh lastochek rabochego dvizheniia v Rossii (Nikolai Evgrafovich Fedoseev)', in *Fedoseev, Nikolai Evgrafovich: Odin iz pionerov revoliutsionnogo marksizma v Rossii (Sbornik vospominanii)*, ed. by A.I. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923), p. 20.
18. A.I., 'Reminiscences of Il'ich', in Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, CPSU, *Reminiscences of Lenin by his Relatives* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956), p. 64.
19. A.I., quoted in Robert C. Williams, *The Other Bolsheviks: Lenin and His Critics* (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1986), p. 13; A.I., 'Iz perepiski russkogo biuro TsK s zagranitse v gody voiny (1915–1916 gg.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 176.
20. A.I., 'Reminiscences of Il'ich', in *Reminiscences of Lenin by his Relatives*, p. 60.
21. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 176.
22. A.I., 'Vladimir Il'ich v ssylke (1897 g.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 2–3, p. 202.
23. A.I., quoted in R. Williams, p. 13.
24. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4.
25. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 2–3, p. 202.
26. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 39.
27. Letter, A.I. to Mark Timofeevich Elizarov (henceforth M.T.), October 1896, quoted in Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 161.
28. Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 161.
29. Poliakova, p. 26.



30. Remezovskii, pp. 25–26.
31. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4.
32. Drabkina, pp. 68–69.
33. Letter, V.I. to P.B. Aksel'rod, 16 August 1897, in V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 47 vols. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1967), Volume 34, p. 24.
34. Letter, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaiia (henceforth N.K.) to M.I., 2 December 1900, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 426.
35. Nadezhda is probably referring to Zinaida Nevzorova here.
36. Letter, N.K. to M.I., 15 February 1898, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 388.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 388 and p. 407.
38. These letters of Anna's are not held in her personal fond. Interestingly though, when Anna first edited and published Vladimir and Nadezhda's letters from exile to the Ul'ianov family, she did not remove Nadezhda's references to her critical comments or try to explain them. Only of one passage, in which Nadezhda referred to Anna's 'reproaches', did Anna write in a footnote: 'I do not understand what this means.' (A.I., 'Vladimir Il'ich v ssylke (1898 g.)', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 4, p. 177). Perhaps Anna did not see her comments as serious or perhaps she simply felt they were no longer important.
39. See, for example, letters, O.I. to A.I., 26 October 1890, A.I. to M.I., 8 March 1899 and A.I. to Dmitrii Il'ich (henceforth D.I.), 25 August 1902, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 89, p. 97 and p. 141.
40. 'Vospominaniia ob Aleksandre', in A.I.: *O V.I. Lenine*, p. 77 and p. 27.
41. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 9 August 1898, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 392.
42. N. Valentinov (N.V. Volskii), *Encounters with Lenin*, trans. by Paul Rosta and Brian Pearce, foreword by Leonard Schapiro (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 89; Letter, N.K. to M.A., 26 July 1900, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 418.
43. Letter, N.K. to M.I., 24 January 1899, in *Ibid.*, p. 388 and p. 407.
44. Letter, N.K. to M.I., 26 July 1900, in *Ibid.*, p. 419.
45. Robert H. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaiia and Lenin* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1973), p. 69; Service, p. 276.
46. Letter, N.K. to M.A., 10 January 1899, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 406.
47. Letter, N.K. to M.I., 11 September 1898, in *Ibid.*, p. 396.
48. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 21 January 1913, in *Zhdem vestei iz Vologdy: perepiska sem'i Ul'ianovykh v period vologdskoi ssylki M.I. Ul'ianovoi, noiabr' 1912 g. – sentiabr' 1914 g.*, ed. by Iu.Ia. Makhina (Arkhangel'sk: Severo-zapadnoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1978), p. 34; 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in A.I.: *O V.I. Lenine*, p. 153.
49. Letters, N.K. to M.I., 11 September 1898, N.K. to M.A., 14 October 1898, and V.I. to M.A., 28 August 1904, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, pp. 395–398, pp. 400–402 and p. 237.
50. *Istoriia Moskv*, Volume 5, p. 78. The second 'R' of the RSDRP, which stood for 'workers', was inserted shortly after the congress (White, p. 52).
51. Police report, 1 July 1898–1 January 1899, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 182.

52. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4.
53. McNeal, p. 96.
54. Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 166.
55. Letter, N.K. to M.A., 2 August 1901, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 434.
56. Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, No. 1, 1936, p. 203.
57. Samuel H. Baron, *Plekhanov: The Father of Russian Marxism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 214; Police report, 1 July 1903, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 172; Police report, 1 January 1901, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 174.
58. Baron, p. 317.
59. Poliakova, p. 41.
60. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 4.
61. Letter, Police Chief to Chief of Tomsk Guberniia Police, 2 September 1902, in GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 42, l. 3.
62. Mitskevich, *Revoliutsionnaia Moskva*, p. 146.
63. *Istoriia Moskv*y, Volume 5, p. 75.
64. Poliakova, p. 26.
65. Police report, quoted in Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 34.
66. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 33.
67. Police report, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 34.
68. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu', in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 8.
69. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 35.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 42; Letter, V.I. to M.I., 19 May 1901, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, pp. 208–209.
71. Police report, quoted in Diagilev, p. 25.
72. *Istoriia Moskv*y, Volume 5, pp. 78–79.
73. A.I., quoted in Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, No. 1, 1936, p. 202.
74. I. Mordkovich, 'Zhenevskie vpechatleniia', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1931, No. 2–3, p. 113.
75. 'Po povodu posylki "Credo" Vladimiru Il'ichu v Sibir', in A.I.: *O V.I. Lenine*, p. 171.
76. *Ibid.*
77. O. Varentsova, 'Vozniknovenie "Iskry" i ee rabota', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1926, No. 1, p. 36; Volin, Ia.R., *Vtoroi s'ezd RSDRP i mestnie partii inie organizatsii Rossii* (Perm: Permskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo, 1973), pp. 30–33.
78. O.D. Ul'ianova, in M.I.: *O V.I. Lenine*, p. 22.
79. Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, No. 1, 1936, p. 203.
80. Remezovskii, p. 67.
81. Letter, V.I. to P.B. Aksel'rod, 4 August 1901, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 46, p. 143. Finn, or Aleksandr Iulievich Finn-Enotaevskii, was a Social-Democrat, economist and writer (*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 46, pp. 637–638).
82. Police report, 1 July 1902, in f. 13, o. 1 kopii, ed. khr. 12, l. 172; Drabkina, p. 75.
83. *Ibid.*; A.I. quoted in Poliakova, p. 42.
84. Letter, A.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 29 October 1902, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina i redaktsii gazety 'Iskra' s sotsial-demokraticheskimi*

- organizatsiiami v Rossii* (henceforth *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*), ed. by O.P. Bochkova, 3 vols (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Mysl', 1969), Volume 2, p. 422.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 573; Letter, A.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 29 October 1902, in *Ibid.*, p. 422.
  86. *Ibid.*
  87. *Ibid.*
  88. 'Chto delat'?', in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 6, pp. 104–105.
  89. Letter, A.I. to the *Iskra* editorial board, 15 November 1902, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 2, p. 470; *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 2, p. 574.
  90. *Ibid.*
  91. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 20 December 1902, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 3, p. 16.
  92. *Ibid.*, p. 604.
  93. Arnol'd, p. 62.
  94. Letters, M.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 29 November 1902 and 9 February 1903, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 2, p. 509 and Volume 3, p. 162.
  95. Volin, pp. 332–333.
  96. Diagilev, p. 39; Boris Iarotskii, *Dmitrii Ul'ianov* (Moscow: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1977), p. 50.
  97. Letter, M.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 9 February 1903, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 3, p. 162; V. Diagilev, 'M.I. Ul'ianova', in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 361; Letter, M.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 29 November 1902, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 2, p. 509.
  98. Diagilev, pp. 33–34.
  99. Letter, M.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 9 February 1903, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 3, p. 162.
  100. Letter, V.I. and N.K. to M.I. and G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, 2 March 1903, in *Ibid.*, p. 219.
  101. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 26 June 1903, in *Ibid.*, p. 421.
  102. Drabkina, p. 4; Diagilev, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 362.
  103. See, for example, N.K. Krupskaia, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, trans. by Bernard Isaacs (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1959), p. 95.
  104. See, for example, letter, N.K. to members of the Bureau of the Committees of the Majority, St Petersburg, 14 January 1905, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina i rukovodimyykh im uchrezhdenii RSDRP s partiinymi organizatsiiami, 1905–1907 gg.* (henceforth *Perepiska, 1905–1907*), ed. by D.I. Antoniuk, M.S. Volin, M.A. Zotov, A.F. Kostin, A.D. Pedosov, S.T. Pleshakov, and V.N. Stepanov, 5 vols. (Moscow: 'Mysl', 1982), Volume 1.1, p. 62.
  105. Letter, N.K. to M.I., I.F. Lengnik and G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, 13 August 1903, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 3, p. 464.
  106. Remezovskii, p. 20 and p. 67.
  107. Letter, M.I. to F. Regner, 29 November 1903, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 30, l. 4; Letter, M.I. to Iu.V. Gromova, 27 November 1903, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 30, l. 3.
  108. Police report, January 1904, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 30, l. 24.
  109. Remezovskii, p. 110.
  110. Drabkina, p. 84.

111. Police reports, referred to in Remezovskii, p. 121; Letter, Kiev Guberniia Gendarmerie to Tomsk Guberniia Gendarmerie, 4 March 1904, in GARF, f. 1764, o. 1, d. 42, l. 6.
112. Remezovskii, p. 120; Neshcheretova, quoted in Drabkina, pp. 84–85.
113. N.K. *Reminiscences*, p. 105.
114. Letter, M.I. to N.K., quoted in Poliakova, p. 48.
115. Valentinov, *Encounters*, p. 236.
116. See, for example, Letter, N.K. to Moscow Committee, 12 February 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, p. 330.
117. L.A. Fotieva, *Vstrechi s V.I. Leninym v Zheneve i Parizhe* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1978), p. 26.
118. Letters, M.I. to A.I., 23 April 1905 and M.I. to L.A. Fotieva, 23 March 1905 in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 2.1, p. 221 and p. 54.
119. Letter, A.I. to V.I. and N.K., after 9 January 1905, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 22, kopets pis'ma, l. 1.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, pp. 62–63.
123. A.I. Volodina, quoted in P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov i sem'ia Ul'ianovykh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1967), p. 76.
124. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 30 January 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, p. 230.
125. Letter, N.K. to Members of the Bureau of Committees of the Majority in Petersburg, in *Ibid.*, p. 62.
126. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 30 January 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 229.
127. *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, p. 90.
128. Letter, A.I. to *Vpered* editorial board, 5 February 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 284; Poliakova, pp. 50–52.
129. 'Bol'shevistskie izdatel'skie dela', in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1931, No. 3, p. 49; Drabkina, p. 92.
130. Letter, N.K. to Members of the Bureau of Committees of the Majority, 14 January 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, p. 62.
131. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 30 January 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 229.
132. *Ibid.*, p. 230.
133. Letters, M.I. to Ekaterinoslav Committee of the Majority of the RSDRP, V.I. Nevskii, M.I. to A.I. and M.I. to V.M. Knunianets, 23 April 1905, in *Ibid.*, Volume 2.1, pp. 220–221.
134. Letter, M.I. to V.I. Nevskii, 23 April 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 221.
135. Letter, M.I. to A.A. Preobrazhenskii, 11 April 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 171.
136. *Ibid.*
137. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 23 April 1905, in *Ibid.*, p. 221. The term 'swampish' was Bolshevik slang for any kind of ambivalent or conciliatory views. Vladimir was particular good at thinking up slang words to define points of views or types of behaviour. Valentinov wrote that Vladimir often used slang to stigmatise others and had the ability 'to hypnotise the people around him by hurling certain words at them'. He continues: 'One little word, instead of long explanations, was used in order to produce "conditioned reflexes" – just as in Pavlov's experiments. In 1903 and in the first half of 1904, "Akimovism" was the key word; in later

years it was: "liquidator", "Otzovist", "Machist", "social-patriot", etc. Only by getting away from Lenin and breaking off all contact with him could one escape the hypnosis of these set expressions.' (Valentinov, *Encounters*, pp. 124–125). This hypnotic effect might partly explain the way in which Mariia's attitude to Mensheviks hardened while she spent time with Vladimir and Nadezhda in exile and relaxed once she returned to Russia.

138. Letter, M.I. to A.A. Preobrazhenskii, 11 April 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 2.1, p. 171.
139. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 30 January 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 1.1, p. 229.
140. Letter, M.I. and A.I. to V.I. and N.K., after 26 August 1905, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 23, l. 1.
141. Diagilev, p. 56; Letter, L.A. Fotieva to N.K., 7 August 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 3.2, p. 195.
142. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 76 and pp. 72–73.
143. Letter, M.I. to *Proletarii* editorial board, after 7 August 1905, in *Perepiska, 1905–1907*, Volume 3.2, p. 197; M. Kireeva, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 257, l. 1–2. Kireeva was one of the Bolshevik activists Mariia trained.
144. Letter, M.I. and A.I. to V.I. and N.K., after 26 August 1905, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 23, l. 1.
145. *Ibid.*
146. *Ibid.*
147. Diagilev, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovskh*, p. 365.
148. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 78.
149. N.K., 'Sestra Vladimira Il'icha', in *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova*, p. 20; Letter, M.I. to A.I., 2 January 1907, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 165.
150. V.I., 'Preface to the Russian Translation of Karl Marx's Letters to Dr. Kugelmann' in *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 104–112.
151. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 2 January 1907, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 165.
152. V.I., *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 111–112.
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 104–112.
154. Letter, V.I. to M.I., end June 1907, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 239.
155. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 14 October 1907, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 171.
156. Leonard Schapiro, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1978), p. 110.
157. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 26 February 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 192.
158. Letters, M.I. to A.I., 26 February 1909, and M.I. to A.I., 12 September 1909, in *Ibid.*, p. 192 and p. 213.
159. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 26 May 1909, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 292. The word 'split' is given in the German: Spaltung.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 506.
161. Schapiro, *The Communist Party*, p. 112.
162. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 24 June 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 206. Plekhanov had in fact left the Editorial Board in December 1908. That Mariia was only in a position to write to Anna about this in June gives some indication of the time delay in the sharing of news that plagued the underground movement.

163. *Ibid.*
164. Letters, M.I. to A.I., 24 June 1909, and M.I. to A.I., 26 February 1909, in *Ibid.*, p. 206 and p. 192.
165. Evgeniia Adamovich, 'Legal'nie vozmozhnosti i partiinaia rabota v Peterburge v 1908–09 gg.', in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1930, No. 4, p. 51.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
167. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 94.
168. Letter, M.I. to M.T., 1 June 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 204.
169. Letter, M.I. to M.T., 11 June 1909, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 226, l. 3.
170. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 19 August 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 210.
171. *Ibid.*
172. *Ibid.*
173. Letter, M.A. to A.I., 24 November 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 220.
174. *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 222.
175. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 111.
176. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 5.
177. P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 87.
178. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 14 October 1907, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 171.
179. Poliakova, p. 55.
180. 'Iz avtobiografii Anny Il'inichny Ul'ianovoi-Elizarovoi', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1935, No. 6, p. 133.
181. Poliakova, pp. 56–57.
182. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 81.
183. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 15 October 1907, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 172.
184. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 15 November 1908, in *Ibid.*, pp. 184–185. Anna's emphasis.
185. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 19 December 1908, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 264.
186. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 11 March 1909, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 196 and p. 197.
187. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 16 or 17 February 1909, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 268.
188. A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 5.
189. *Ibid.*, l. 3.
190. 'Vospominanie V.A. Levitskogo', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 389, l. 2.
191. N.D. Parfenenko, *Ul'ianovy na Ukraine: revoliutsionnaia i obshchestvenno-politicheskaia deiatelnost' Ulianovykh na Ukraine i v Krymu (1902–1921 gody)* (Kiev: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury Ukrainy, 1989), p. 102.
192. *Ibid.* These were published in *Svobodnoe vospitanie* in 1909 and 1910, No. 8 and No. 9 respectively.
193. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 1 February 1910, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 306. Vladimir's emphasis.
194. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 2 May 1910, in *Ibid.*, p. 312.

### Chapter 3 From Saratov to February

1. Police report No. 41651, 11 March 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 15.
2. Police report, quoted in P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 91.

3. A. Simonov, 'Iz proshlogo partii – saratovskaia organizatsiia RSDRP (bol'shevikov) 1910–1912 gg.', written after 1917, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 80.
4. Diagilev, p. 66; Police report No. 6406, 15 October 1911, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 8; A.I., 'Avtobiografiia', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 1, l. 5.
5. R. Kovnator, 'Drug i pomoshchnitsa Il'icha (M.I. Ul'ianova)', in *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, ed. by L.I. Stishova (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1982), pp. 33–34. E. Prestsang was a leader of the German Printers' Union, while R. Shveikhel was a German novelist, who had participated in the revolution of 1848–49 in Germany (*Ibid.*).
6. Police report No. 40219, 9 January 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 10.
7. Police report No. 6406, 15 October 1911, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 8.
8. Police report No. 41651, 11 March 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 22.
9. Police report, 10 May 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 54; Diagilev, p. 65; Letter, Saratov Krai Committee to M.I., 26 February 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 3.
10. Letter, V.I. to M.A., 19 January 1911, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 319.
11. Police report, No. 43139, 10 May 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 54.
12. P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 96.
13. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 22 October 1911, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 251.
14. Police report, No. 43139, 10 May 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 54.
15. Police report, No. 41651, 11 March 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 23.
16. Letter, Saratov Police Chief to Saratov Gubernator, 9 November 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 10; Drabkina, p. 97; Police decree, later than 26 July 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 4; Drabkina, p. 97; Diagilev, p. 66; Police surveillance report, relating to a meeting of 29 April 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 33.
17. Police report, No. 43139, 10 May 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 33, l. 54; Drabkina, p. 97; Diagilev, p. 66.
18. Poliakova, p. 76.
19. Police report, No. 41651, 11 March 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 23.
20. *Ibid.*; Diagilev, p. 71; Letter, Saratov Krai Committee to M.I., 26 February 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 3.
21. Police report, No. 41651, 11 March 1912, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 22.
22. *Ibid.*, l. 21.
23. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 115.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 115 and p. 124.
25. McDermid, Jane and Anna Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and Women Workers in 1917* (London: University of the City of London Press, 1999), p. 63. It is asserted in this book also that S.S. Krzhizhanovskii was married. It is possible that he is being confused with G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, for Stanislav does not seem to have been married, while Gleb Maksimilianovich was. Incidentally, I have found at least one letter, from an earlier period, that suggests that Mariia had feelings for G.M. Krzhizhanovskii. In 1903, Mariia wrote to the *Iskra* editorial board (that is Nadezhda and Vladimir): 'For God's sake, don't talk about Br[ut]'s [G.M. Krzhizhanovskii's] absence, I have a knife turning in my

- heart.' (M.I. to *Iskra* editorial board, 18 August 1903, in *Perepiska V.I. Lenina*, Volume 3, p.471).
26. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 14.
  27. P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 98.
  28. See, for example, letters, M.A. to M.I., 25 February 1913, and A.I. to M.I., after 16 March 1914, in *Zhdem vestei*, p. 43 and p. 78.
  29. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 24 February 1913, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 444.
  30. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 36.
  31. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 25 December 1912, in *Zhdem vestei*, p. 27.
  32. Letter, A.I. to M.T., 8 February 1913, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 227, l. 5.
  33. Letter, M.I. to A.I., quoted in Lozgachev-Elizarov, pp. 44–45.
  34. *Ibid.*, p. 45.
  35. Letter, A.I. to M.T., quoted in Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 45.
  36. *Ibid.*
  37. 'Vospominaniia Borisova, S.V., o M.I. Ul'ianovoi v period Vologodskoi ssylki (1912–1914g.)', 20 October 1960, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 286, l. 1.
  38. *Ibid.*
  39. Letter, M.A. to M.I., 20 November 1912, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 287.
  40. 'Vospominaniia Borisova', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 286, l. 2.
  41. Kovnator, in *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, p. 35; Bystrova, 'V Petrograde', in S.B. Sutotskii, *M.I. Ul'ianova sekretar' 'Pravdy'* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Pravdy', 1965), p. 123.
  42. 'Vospominaniia Borisova', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 286, l. 2.
  43. Police report, No. 4963, 13 August 1914, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 36, l. 22.
  44. Lozgachev-Elizarov, pp. 62–63.
  45. Poliakova, p. 97; M. Savel'ev, ' "Prosveshchenie". (Marksistskii zhurnal).', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1923, No. 2, p. 394.
  46. *Ibid.*
  47. 'Proekt vozzvaniia o vykhode zhurnala "Rabotnitsa", napisannii Inessoi Armand', start of January 1914, in 'K istorii izdaniia zhurnala "Rabotnitsa": Dokumenty Instituta Marksa-Engel'sa-Lenina-Stalina pri TsK KPSS', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1955, No. 4, p. 31.
  48. 'K istorii', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1955, No. 4, pp. 31–33.
  49. Stites, *Feminism, Nihilism, and Bolshevism*, p. 252 and p. 256.
  50. A.I., 'Zhurnal "Rabotnitsa" 1914 g.', in *Iz epokha 'Zvezdy' i 'Pravdy', 1911–14*, ed. by M.S. Ol'minskii (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1921), 3 vols., Volume 3, pp. 64–65.
  51. A.N. Grigor'eva-Alekseeva, 'Zhenskoe utro', in *Zhenshchiny goroda Lenina*, ed. by A.P. Konstantinov and E.P. Serebrovskaia (Leningrad: Lenizdat, 1963), p. 66.
  52. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 66.
  53. Letter, N.K. to A.I., 29 January 1914, in 'K istorii', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1955, No. 4, p. 36.
  54. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 66.
  55. R.C. Elwood, *Inessa Armand: Revolutionary and Feminist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 120.
  56. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 74.
  57. Elwood, p. 120; A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 65 and p. 69.



58. Anna gives a comprehensive contents list of each journal edition, apart from the seventh in A.I., in *Ibid.*, pp. 63–78.
59. A.I., 'Iz zhizni devochki', in *Rabotnitsa*, 1914, No. 3, p. 14.
60. A.I., in *Rabotnitsa*, 1914, No. 3, p. 14.
61. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 66.
62. Letter, women political prisoners in St Petersburg to *Rabotnitsa*, 1914 (published in the fourth edition of *Rabotnitsa*), quoted in Drabkina, p. 103.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
64. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 69.
65. A.I. on *Rabotnitsa*, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 249, l. 14; Elwood, pp. 120–121.
66. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, p. 69.
67. Letter, A.I. to N.K., 2 April 1914, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, pp. 318–319.
68. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, Volume 3, pp. 69–70.
69. Letters, E.F. Rozmirovich to N.K., 19 January 1914, and K.N. Samoilova to N.K., 25 January 1914, in 'K istorii', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1955, No. 4, pp. 32–33 and p. 35.
70. Letters, K.N. Samoilova to N.K., 25 January 1914, and I. Armand to N.K., between 16 March and 1 April 1914, in *Ibid.*, p. 35 and pp. 40–41.
71. Letter, A.I. to N.K., 3 April 1914, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 320.
72. A.I. on *Rabotnitsa*, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 249, l. 14.
73. Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 177.
74. Letter, V.I. to A.I., 14 November 1914, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 356.
75. Letters, A.I. to M.I., 11 April 1915 and A.I. to M.I., 23 April 1915, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, pp. 356 and 360.
76. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 21 January 1914, in *Ibid.*, p. 307.
77. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 2 April 1914, in *Ibid.*, p. 317.
78. Letter, V.I. to M.I., 22 April 1914, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 354.
79. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 23 April 1915, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 362.
80. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 23 April 1915, in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 183.
81. *Ibid.*
82. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 30 September 1915, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, pp. 377–378.
83. *Ibid.*
84. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 25 March 1916, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, pp. 411–412.
85. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 180.
86. See, for example, letter, A.I. to V.I., 7 June 1916 in A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 194.
87. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 25 March 1916, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 411.
88. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 181.
89. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 7 June 1916, in A.I., in *Ibid.*, p. 194.
90. Schapiro, *The Communist Party*, pp. 135–136.
91. Letter, V.I. to A.G. Shliapnikov, after 11 March 1916, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 49, pp. 192–193. Vladimir's emphasis. Anna later explained this harsh attack on her. During the dispute between Vladimir and the *Kommunist* publishers, Shliapnikov asked Anna to intervene on

his behalf to try to persuade Vladimir to reconcile with the editorial board, presumably hoping that Anna's close relationship with Lenin would enable her to persuade him. He also wrote to Vladimir, referring to Anna's support for the journal *Kommunist*: 'We all, including James (!), demand that you restore *Kommunist* and come together with the colleagues and editorial board of *Kommunist*.' (Letter, Shliapnikov to V.I., 11 March 1916, quoted in A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 181). Anna later denied that she had given him permission to do this and argued that Vladimir's anger over this incident explained his vehemence in his letter to Shliapnikov (A.I., in *Ibid.*, pp. 181–182). It is possible that Anna's assertion was an attempt to distance herself from Shliapnikov, who, in 1930, was forced to confess that he had made various errors in his memoirs about 1917.

92. Letter, V.I. to G.Y. Zinov'ev, 4 April 1916, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 49, p. 212.
93. Letter, V.I. to G.Y. Zinov'ev, after 23 July 1916, in *Ibid.*, p. 265. Riabovskii was an agent provocateur (*Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 49, p. 534).
94. Letter, V.I., to A. Shliapnikov, after 3 October 1916, *Ibid.*, p. 298 and p. 235.
95. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 150.
96. Diagilev, p. 79.
97. Police report, quoted in Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 149.
98. *Bol'sheviki: Dokumenty po istorii bol'shevizma s 1903 po 1916 god byvshego Moskovskogo Okhrannogo Otdeleniia*, ed. by I.E. Gorelova (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1990), p. 43; Diagilev, p. 81. Lavrov argues that Mariia becomes a nurse because of financial pressures (R. Lavrov, 'Stranitsy zhizni (Kratkaia biografiia)', in *Mariia Il'ichna Ul'ianova*, p. 29). There is no reason why it could not be both.
99. Parfenenko, p. 99, p. 126 and p. 140; Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 158.
100. Letter, S.S. Krzhizhanovskii to M.I., 27 December 1915, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 271, l. 55.
101. See letter, A.I. to M.I., 21 February 1916, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 406.
102. See letters, M.A. to M.I., 28 March 1916 and A.I. to M.I., 26 April 1916, in *Ibid.*, p. 413 and p. 415.
103. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 21 February 1916, in *Ibid.*, p. 406.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, pp. 161–162.
106. Letter, M.I. to V.I. and N.K., 27 October 1915, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, pp. 388–389.
107. *Ibid.*; Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 162.
108. Police report, quoted in P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 112.
109. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 116.
110. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 24 August 1916, in *Perepiska, 1883–1917*, p. 425.
111. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 116.
112. 'Vospominaniia Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 17
113. Russian prisoners used a long-established code of taps to communicate with each other between cells.
114. M.G. Savchenko, 'Doloi voinu!', in *Zhenshchiny goroda Lenina*, p. 76.

115. 'Vospominaniia Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 17.
116. *Ibid.*; Kunetskaia, Mariia Ul'ianova, p. 171; *Dokumenty velikogo oktiabria* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1977), p. 62.
117. *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64.
118. D.A. Longley, 'Divisions in the Bolshevik Party in March 1917', in *Soviet Studies*, 1972, Volume 24, No. 1, pp. 68–69.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
120. A.I. and M.I., 'Khod sobytii', in *Pravda*, 5 March 1917, p. 3.
121. *Dokumenty velikogo oktiabria*, p. 66.
122. *Ibid.*
123. M.I., 'Trud i bor'ba', in *Pravda*, 30 March 1917, p. 3; M.I., 'Provint-sial'naia rabochaia pechat' o voine', in *Pravda*, 31 March 1917, p. 2.
124. Kunetskaia, Mariia Ul'ianova, p. 173.
125. A.I., 'Pamiati tovarishcha Aleksei Pavlovicha Skliarenko', in *Pravda*, 17 July 1917, p. 2.
126. Leon Trotsky, *Stalin: An Appraisal of the Man and his Influence*, ed. and trans. by Charles Malamuth (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1968), p. 194 and p. 197.
127. M.I., 'Rossiiskaia revoliutsiia i voina', in *Pravda*, 25 March 1917, pp. 2–3.
128. Trotsky, *Stalin*, p. 198.
129. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 7 June 1916, in A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, p. 192.
130. A.I., in *Ibid.*, p. 178.
131. Telegram, V.I. to A.I. and M.I., 2 April 1917, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 49, p. 434.
132. Kunetskaia, Mariia Ul'ianova, p. 174. According to F. Raskol'nikov's memory of the meeting, only Mariia went to meet Vladimir and she waited with others, including Kollontai, at the Finland station (F. Raskol'nikov, 'Priezd tov. Lenina v Rossiui', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1923, No. 1, p. 220).
133. N.N. Sukhanov, *The Russian Revolution, 1917: A Personal Record*, ed., abridged and trans. by Joel Carmichael (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 275; N.I. Podvoiskii, 'Dnevniki/vospominaniia: V.I. Lenin v 1917 godu', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1956, No. 6, p. 117.
134. 'Podpol'e v "svobodnoi" Rossii: poiski Il'icha v pervie dni iulia 1917 goda', in M.I.: *O V.I. Lenine*, p. 166.
135. *Ibid.*
136. 'Vospominanii Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 21.
137. N.K., *Reminiscences*, p. 366.
138. Kunetskaia, Mariia Ul'ianova, p. 175.
139. Diagilev, p. 95.
140. Letter, V.I. to M.I., August 1917, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 370.
141. Letter, V.I. to M.I., end of August 1917, in *Ibid.*, p. 371. Vladimir's emphasis.
142. *Ibid.*; *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 518.
143. Kunetskaia, p. 181.
144. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 163.

## Chapter 4 The Revolution Realised

1. Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 340.
2. Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 351.
3. S.I. Shul'ga, 'Istoricheskie dni', in *Bez nikh my ne pobedili by. Vospominaniia zhenshchin-ychastnits Oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii, grazhdanskoi voini i sotsialisticheskoe stroitel'stvo*, ed. by M.O. Levkovich, A.I. Nukhrat, O.N. Petrovskaia, K.K. Kozhina and L.E. Karaseva (Moscow: Politizdat, 1975), p. 32.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1936, No. 1, p. 204.
6. Lozgagev-Elizarov, pp. 163–164 and pp. 149–150.
7. Letter, V. Perasich to A. Efroimson at *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 21 January 1936, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 19, l. 1.
8. Solomon, *Lenin*, p. 29.
9. A.G. Solomon, *Sredi krasnykh vozhdiei: lichno perezhitoe i vidennoe na sovet-skoi sluzhbe* (Paris: Izdatel'stvo 'Mishen', 1965), p. 18.
10. Adam B. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks: The Intellectual and Political History of the Triumph of Communism in Russia* (London: Collier-Macmillan Co., 1965), p. 526.
11. Letter, N.K. to I.I. Gorbunov-Posadov, quoted in McNeal, p. 191.
12. Bystrova, 'V Petrograde', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 123; Letter, M.A. Mustova to Marx-Engels Institute, 20 August 1956, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 20, l. 1.
13. T.H. Rigby, *Lenin's Government: Sovnarkom, 1917–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 125.
14. *Ibid.*
15. P.P. Elizarov, *Mark Elizarov*, p. 52.
16. Lozgagev-Elizarov, p. 199.
17. S. Krylova, '"Pravda" v Moskve', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 129.
18. M.I., 'Pamiati starogo druga', in *Pravda*, 27 April 1919, p. 2.
19. M.I., 'O rabote v derevne', in *Pravda*, 15 October 1918, p. 1; M.I., 'Bor'ba s spekulatsiei', in *Pravda*, 12 February 1918, p. 1.
20. *Ibid.*
21. This is the title of a book by D. Ershov, *Bol'shoi drug rabsel'korov* (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1959).
22. M.I., 'Partiia i rabkor', in *Krasnaia pechat'*, 1924, No. 16–17, pp. 6–7, quoted in full in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 64.
23. *Ibid.*
24. 'Rabkorovskoe dvizhenie posle revoliutsiia', in *Spravochnaia kniga rabkora* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo 'Moskovskaia rabochii', 1926), quoted in full in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 41.
25. Edward Hallett Carr, *Socialism in One Country, 1924–1926*, 4 vols. (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1958), Volume 1, p. 198.
26. 'Rabkorovskoe dvizhenie', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, pp. 50–51.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 51; M.I., 'Rabochii i sel'skii korrespondent', from a lecture given on 15 May 1926 to the State Institute of Journalists and published in *Zhurnalist*, 1926, No. 6–7, pp. 33–35, quoted in *Ibid.*, pp. 70–74.
28. 'Rabkorovskoe dvizhenie', in *Ibid.*, p. 53.
29. *Ibid.*

30. M.I., 'Novii etap', in *Raboche-krest'ianskii korrespondent*, 1925, No. 6, pp. 3–4, quoted in full in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, pp. 66–67.
31. N. Bogdanov, 'Kazhdii ukhodil s khoroshim chuvstvom', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 118.
32. M.I., 'Partiia i rabkor', in *Ibid.*, p. 64.
33. *Ibid.* Mariia's emphasis.
34. 'Rech' tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 26 May 1926, p. 3.
35. M.I. 'Rabochii i sel'skii korrespondent', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 71.
36. 'Poriadok dnia: kak pisat' i o chem pisat'', advert, in *Pravda*, 30 January 1921, p. 4.
37. 'Vstupitel'noe slovo M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 6 December 1924, p. 8.
38. M.I., 'Rabochii i sel'skii korrespondent', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 71; 'Voprosy rukovodstva rabsel'korovskim dvizheniem (Doklad tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi na vsesoiuznom soveshchanii redaktorov)', in *Pravda*, 2 October 1928, p. 3; 'Itogi i perspektivy rabsel'korovskorovskogo dvizheniia (Doklad tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi na IV vsesoiuznom soveshchanii rabsel'korov)', in *Pravda*, 7 December 1928, p. 3.
39. 'Rabkorovskoe dvizhenie', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 49.
40. Krylova, in *Ibid.*, p. 129.
41. See, for example, letter, M.I. to M.N. Pokrovskii, 22 April 1922, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 41, l. 6.
42. Bystrova, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, pp. 124–125. 'O chesotke' was published in *Pravda* on 22 February 1918.
43. N. Astakhova (Pilatskaia), 'U nee my uchilis'', in *Ibid.*, p. 145.
44. Photograph, by N. Peterson, in *Prozhektor*, 1926, No. 15, p. 10; M.I., 'Nado peresmotret' (K delu ob ubiistve tov. Spiridonova)', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 54.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 55.
46. M.I., 'K delu tov. Spiridonova. V zashchitu rabochei pechati', in *Pravda*, 27 October 1922, p. 4.
47. A. Bezymenskii, 'Dorogi vsem chelovek', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 155. Another case of Sel'kor persecution, the Malinovskii affair, caused a national scandal, but Mariia does not seem to have contributed any articles to *Pravda* about it (Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, Volume 1, p. 196).
48. S. Evgenov, 'Dvadtsatie gody', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 189.
49. Astakhova, in *Ibid.*, p. 141.
50. M.I., 'O metodakh privlecheniia rabkorov', in *Rabochii korrespondent*, 1924, No. 1, pp. 18–21, quoted in full in *Ibid.*, p. 58.
51. K. Altaiskii, 'Svet leninskikh idei', in *Ibid.*, pp. 135–136.
52. *Ibid.* See also, for example, D. Zaslavskii, 'Glavnaia shkola sovetskogo fel'etona', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, pp. 207–208.
53. O. Toom, 'Glavnii chelovek moei zhizni', in *Ibid.*, p. 304.
54. A. Ashmarina, 'Takoi zapomnilas' ona', in *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147.
55. See, for example, 'Zakliuchitel'noe slovo tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 10 December 1924, p. 4.
56. M.I., 'Vovlechenie zhenshchin v rabsel'korovskuiu rabotu', in *Raboche-krest'ianskii korrespondent*, 1925, No. 8, pp. 1–4, quoted in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 68.
57. Clements, *Bolshevik Women*, p. 218.

58. M.I., 'Vovlechenie zhenshchin', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 68.
59. *Ibid.*; 'Rech' tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 26 May 1926, p. 3.
60. 'Zakliuchitel'noe slovo tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 10 December 1924, p. 4; E.I. Pismannik, 'Stupeni rosta', in *Bez nikh*, p. 375.
61. A. Sol'ts, A., 'Sekretar' "Pravdy"', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1922, p. 4.
62. Letter, worker correspondents to M.I., in *Pravda*, 5 May 1922, p. 8.
63. I. Lomskii, 'Chelovek, kotorii organizoval rabochikh korrespondentov', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1923, p. 5. The notice of Mariia's honorary appointment is also on this page.
64. D. Kossov and I. Verkhovstev, 'Zhizn' dlia narod', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 238.
65. D. Ershov, 'Plamennaia revoliutsionerka', in *Ibid.*, p. 192.
66. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 29 July 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 194.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Lomskii, in *Pravda*, 5 May 1923, p. 5.
69. Ashmarina, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 148.
70. N. Rabinovich, 'Publika govorit...', in *Ibid.*, p. 279.
71. Professor P. Gurov, 'Otdel "derevnia"', in *Ibid.*, p. 179.
72. N. Chemodanov, 'Zametki organizatora rabkorov', in *Ibid.*, p. 315.
73. Letter, M.I. to V.I., 19 September 1921, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 41, l. 4. The article, which in the end was entitled 'K chetyrekhetnei godovshchine oktiabr'skoi revoliutsii', was published in *Pravda* on 18 October 1921.
74. A. Zuev, 'Delat' khorosho', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 221.
75. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 13; Letter, V. Perasich to A. Efroimson at *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 21 January 1936, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 19, l. 1.
76. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 21 March 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 3. Anna was not the only one to remain in Petrograd for practical reasons. Stasova, who had taken over Krupskaia's role as secretary to Lenin, would not leave her ailing parents, and gave up (temporarily) the offer of a party post in Moscow (Salita, p. 353).
77. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 14.
78. Letter, V. Perasich to A. Efroimson at *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 21 January 1936, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 19, l. 1.
79. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 15 March 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 1; A.I., 'Stranichka vospominanii o Vladimire Il'iche v Sovnarkome', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, p. 87.
80. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 April 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 6.
81. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 16 March 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 1.
82. *Ibid.*, l. 2.
83. *Ibid.*; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 21 March 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 3.
84. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 24 April 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 12. Anna's emphasis.
85. David Shub, 'Lenin and Vladimir Korolenko', in *Russian Review*, 1966, Vol. 25, No. 1, p. 46.
86. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 April 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 6. Anna's emphasis.
87. Entry for 28 March 1918, in Vladimir Korolenko, *Dnevnik. Pis'ma. 1917–1921*, ed. by A.K. Kozhedub (Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 2001),

- p. 95. See also P.I. Negretov, V.G. Korolenko v gody revoliutsii i grazhdanskoi voiny, 1917–1921: *Biograficheskaia khronika* (Benson Vermont: Chalidze Publications, 1985), pp. 83–146.
88. Letter, V.I. to Maxim Gorky, 5 September 1919, in *Collected Works*, Volume 44, p. 284. Vladimir's emphasis. Anna's pleas may have fallen on deaf ears in 1918, but in 1920, the Soviet government posted a special guard to protect Korolenko during the civil war (E. Balabanovich, *V.G. Korolenko, 1853–1921*, ed. by V. Bonch-Bruевич (Moscow: Gosudarstvennii literaturnii muzei, 1947), p. 155.
  89. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 15.
  90. Konstantin Paustovsky's eye-witness account, quoted at length in Israel Getzler, *Martov: A Political Biography of a Russian Social Democrat* (Melbourne: Carlton, 1967), p. 180.
  91. *Ibid.*
  92. See letters, A.I. to M.I., 16 March 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 1; A.I. to M.I., 24 April 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 11; and A.I. to M.I., 9 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 17.
  93. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 9 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 17.
  94. Lozgagev-Elizarov, p. 177.
  95. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 24 April 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 11.
  96. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 May 1918, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 14.
  97. Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, p. 180.
  98. Wendy Z. Goldman, *Women, the State and Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 61.
  99. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
  100. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
  101. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
  102. *Ibid.*
  103. A.I., 'Deti i zhilishchnie uslovie', in *Pravda*, 23 July 1919, p. 1.
  104. Goldman, p. 63.
  105. Letter, V.I. to The Board of Properties of Moscow's People's Palaces, 1 November 1918, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 50, p. 201; *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 50, p. 452.
  106. *Ibid.*
  107. Letter, M.A. Mustova to Marx-Engels Institute, 20 August 1956, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 20, l. 1.
  108. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, pp. 89–90.
  109. Drabkina, in *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh*, pp. 180–181.
  110. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, p. 88.
  111. A.I., in *Pravda*, 23 July 1919, p. 1.
  112. *Ibid.*
  113. *Ibid.*
  114. A.I., 'Bednost' da bednost', da nesovershenstvo nashei zhizni', in *Pravda*, 24 July 1919, p. 1; A.I., 'Rabotnitsa i sotsial'noe vospitanie', in *Pravda*, 6 June 1920, p. 2.
  115. A.I., 'Nedelia rebenka', in *Pravda*, 21 November 1920, p. 4; A.I., 'Kursy vospitatel'nits dlia rabotnits', in *Pravda*, 15 May 1920, p. 2.
  116. A.I., 'Okhrana detstva v Sovetskoi Rossii i uchastie v nei rabotnits', in *Pravda*, 7 November 1920, p. 5.

117. A.I., in *Pravda*, 6 June 1920, p. 2.
118. Official statistics on *besprizorniki* and children in the care of the state were often 'incomplete [and] inaccurate' (Goldman, p. 65).
119. *Ibid.*
120. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, p. 88.
121. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
122. Drabkina, p. 122.
123. McNeal, pp. 194–195; A.I., quoted in Drabkina, pp. 121–122.
124. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
125. A.I., in *Pravda*, 6 June 1920, p. 2; A.I., in *Pravda*, 7 November 1920, p. 5.
126. 'V organizatsionnoe Biuro TsK Partii: Protest A.I. Elizarovoi po povodu obvineniia ee Kollegiei Narkomprosa', after 20 December 1920, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 3.
127. E.A. Litkens was a party official who had been assigned to Narkompros to improve its administration (McNeal, p. 196).
128. 'Protest A.I. Elizarovoi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 8, l. 2.
129. *Ibid.* Lunacharskii had in fact fought to ensure that Sovnarkom assigned the building to the DPC, with the decree confirming this being issued on 20 November 1920.
130. *Ibid.*, l. 2–3.
131. *Ibid.*, l. 1.
132. *Ibid.*, l. 3.
133. *Ibid.*, l. 3.
134. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, p. 87.
135. *Ibid.*
136. A.I., 'Na bor'bu s besprizornost'iu. Organizuem dom-koloniiu besprizornykh.', in *Pravda*, 9 December 1925, p. 4.
137. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 99.
138. 'Vospominanii Lozgageva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 1–10.
139. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 21 June 1923, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 45.
140. 'Vospominaniia A.I. Ul'ianovoi (Elizarovoi)', in *Pravda*, 2 October 1918, p. 3; A.I., 'Retrospektivnii vzgliad na Istpart i na zhurnal "Proletarskaia revoliutsiia"', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5 (100), p. 156; N.S. Komarov, 'Sozdanie i deiatel'nost' Istparta, 1920–1928 gg.', in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, No. 5, 1958, p. 160.
141. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 99.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 102; E.B. Genkina, 'V.I. Lenina i perekhod k novoi ekonomicheskoi politike', in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1964, No. 5, p. 24.
143. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 102; Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution: A Political Biography, 1888–1938* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 93–94.
144. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 102.
145. *Ibid.*, pp. 110–111.
146. *Ibid.*
147. P. Posvianskii, 'Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova-Elizarova (Vospominaniia byvshego komsomol'tsa)', in *Slavnie bol'shevichki*, ed. by V. Ignat'eva (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1958), pp. 19–22.



148. Getzler, p. 180; Trotsky, *The Stalin School of Falsification*, trans. by John G. Wright, introduced by George Saunders, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1979), p. xxxiii.
149. M. Savel'ev, 'Ob izuchenii istorii partii (k vypusku sotogo nomera "Proletarskaia revoliutsiia")', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, p. 7.
150. See, for example, N. Lenin (V. Ul'ianov), *Sobranie sochinenii, Tom 1, Pervie shagi rabochego s.- d. dvizheniia, 1893–1900 gg.*, ed. by L.B. Kamenev (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1920), p. 644.
151. Trotsky, *Stalin School*, p. xxxiv.
152. *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv.
153. *Starii tovarishch Aleksei Pavlovich Skliarenko (1870–1916 gg.)*, ed. by A.I. (Moscow: Gosizdat, 1922) and Fedoseev, Nikolai Evgrafovich. *Odin iz pionirov revoliutsionnogo marksizma v Rossii (Sbornik vospominaniia)*, ed. by A.I. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1923).
154. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 100; V. Nevskii, *Ocherki po istorii Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Leningrad: Raboche izdatel'stvo 'Priboi', 1925), p. 314.
155. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, p. 156; Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 100.
156. Letter, A.I. to V.I., 8 December 1922, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 43, l. 2.
157. A.I., in Fedoseev, p. 20.
158. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, p. 157.
159. M.S. Ol'minskii, 'Vozniknovenie istparta i zhurnala "Proletarskaia revoliutsiia"', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, p. 155; A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, pp. 157–158.
160. *Ibid.*, p. 158.
161. *Ibid.*
162. Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1936, No. 1, p. 205.
163. Letter, A.I. to Maksim Blek, 7 June 1930, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 254, l. 1. Anna's emphasis.
164. Tony Cliff, *Revolution Besieged: Lenin, 1917–1923* (London: Bookmarks, 1987), p. 91; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 6 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 7.
165. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 163.
166. Cliff, *Revolution Besieged*, p. 91.
167. 'Vospominaniia Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 32; Kossov and Verkhovtsev, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 242; Fischer, p. 554.
168. S.B. Brichkina, 'Maloe o velikom', in *Vospominaniia O V.I. Lenine*, Volume 3, p. 406; Clara Zetkin, 'My Recollections of Lenin', in *They Knew Lenin*, ed. by S.F. Bezvesel'ni and D.Y. Grinberg, trans. by David Myshne (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968), p. 12.
169. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 189; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 9 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 102; Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 237.
170. Ulam, *The Bolsheviks*, p. 526.
171. M.I., 'O napadenii na V.I. Lenina banditov (Otryvki iz vospominanii)', in *Pravda*, 21 January 1930, p. 4.
172. Brichkina, in *Vospominaniia O V.I. Lenine*, Volume 3, p. 406; Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1936, No. 1, p. 204.
173. Service, p. 276.

174. See, for example, N.K., *Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 36; Letters, N.K. to M.I., 26 July 1900, and N.K. to M.A. and A.I., 24 February 1913, in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, pp. 417–418 and p. 444.
175. N.K., *Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 351.
176. M.I., 'O Vladimire Il'iche', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 70.
177. N.K., *Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 351.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 360.
179. Possony, p. 305; N.K., *Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 424.
180. Rabinovich, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 279; 'Vospominaniia Pushkovoi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 457, l. 1.
181. See, for example, letter, A.I. to M.I., 14 June 1923, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 53.
182. 'Vospominaniia Pushkovoi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 457, l. 1.
183. *Ibid.*
184. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 166.
185. Lozgachev-Elizarov, p. 201.
186. 'Pamiati M.T. Elizarova', in *Pravda*, 10 March 1929, p. 3; Letter, M.I. to A.I., 10 July 1924, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 225, l. 40.
187. Fischer, p. 321; V. Rozanov, 'Vospominaniia o Vladimire Il'iche' in *Krasnaia nov'*, 1924, No. 6, p. 157.

## Chapter 5 The New Order

1. Letter, N.K. to Varvara Armand, 13 September 1923, in McNeal, p. 229.
2. McNeal, p. 229.
3. Richard Stites, 'Kollontai, Inessa and Krupskaia: A Review of Recent Literature', in *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, Volume 9, No. 1, p. 91.
4. Letter, N.K. to Varvara Armand, 13 September 1923, in f. 12, o. 2, ed. khr. 206, l. 7. My emphasis.
5. *Ibid.* Nadezhda's handwriting is difficult to read and even the Russians I asked to double check the letter found it hard to decipher. The word 'sester' is clear however, as is the word 'doktora', in the next line, though the rest of that sentence is not. The line reads, as far as could be determined: 'Doktora [unclear word – possibly *vedeniia* (authority)] do minimum.' This seems to suggest that the doctors' authority was being reduced to a minimum.
6. Service, pp. 448–449.
7. See, for example, McNeal, p. 69 and Service, p. 187.
8. McNeal, p. 255 and Service, p. 276.
9. For example, Lenin's bodyguard, P. Pakaln left eye-witness accounts of life at Gorki (Service, p. 448).
10. Beryl Williams, *Lenin* (Harlow, U.K.: Pearson Ed. Ltd., 2000), p. 196.
11. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 14 August 1922, in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 332.
12. McNeal, p. 218; 'Vospominaniia Lozgacheva-Elizarova', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 17, l. 37; Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Lenin* (London: W.H. Allen, 1964), p. 585; A.V. Bel'mas, 'Vospominaniia o V.I. Lenine', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1958, No. 2, p. 161.

13. M.I., 'Ob otnoshenii V.I. Lenina k I.V. Stalinu', undated, in *Izvestiia CC KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, p. 198.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Letter, V.I. to I.V. Stalin, 5 March 1923, in *Izvestiia CC KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, p. 193.
16. Yuri Buranov, *Lenin's Will: Falsified and Forbidden* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1994) p. 56.
17. M.I., in *Izvestiia CC KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, p. 198.
18. Buranov, pp. 207–208.
19. V.I. Lenin, 'The question of nationalities or "autonomisation"', quoted in Buranov, p. 227.
20. Buranov, p. 67.
21. Letter, Fotieva to Kamenev and Trotsky, 16 April 1923, quoted in Buranov, p. 64.
22. Letter, Fotieva to Stalin, 16 April 1923, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 67.
23. Buranov, p. 71.
24. Memo, Stalin to special meeting of the Politburo on 18 June 1925, quoted in *Ibid.*, p. 115.
25. White, p. 174.
26. P. Avrich, 'Bolshevik Opposition to Lenin: G.T. Miasnikov and the Workers' Group', in *Russian Review*, 1984, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 1–29.
27. Letter, V. Rumynov to M.I., 23 May 1924, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 47, l. 1.
28. *Ibid.*, l. 2.
29. See, for example, letter, Stalin to M.I., no date, in f. 558, o. 11, d. 819, l. 25.
30. Letter, M.I. to Stalin, March 1925, in f. 558, o. 11, d. 819, l. 28–29.
31. *Ibid.*, l. 28 and l. 29.
32. Evgenov, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 186.
33. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 12.
34. N.K.'s speech, at meeting four, 20 December 1925, in *XIV S"ezd Vsesoiuznoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (b), 18–31 dekabria 1925 g. Stenograficheskii otchet.*, 2 vols. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1926), Volume 1, p. 166.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 165; McNeal, p. 253.
36. M.I.'s speech, at meeting seven, 21 December 1925, in *XIV S"ezd*, Volume 1, p. 299.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 299–300.
41. Letter, M.I. to Prezidium ob"edinennogo plenuma TsK i TsKK RKP(b), 26 July 1926, in *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, p. 196.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 195–196.
44. Letter, Stalin to V.I., after 5 March 1923, quoted in Edvard Radzinsky, *Stalin*, trans. by H.T. Willetts (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996), p. 195. Vladimir never saw Stalin's (hardly penitent) letter of apology, though Mariia did pass on Stalin's message of apology.

45. Minutes of meeting one, 2 December 1927, in *Piatnadsatii s"ezd VKP(b). Dekabr' 1927 goda. Stenograficheskii otchet*. (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1962), Volume 1, p. 6.
46. Minutes of meeting six, 5 December 1927, in *Ibid.*, p. 284.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Minutes of meeting one, in *Piatnadsatii s"ezd*, Volume 1, p. 7. Kamenev was also included in this group.
49. Minutes of meeting eight, 6 December 1927, in *Ibid.*, p. 373.
50. *Ibid.*; E.H. Carr and R.W. Davies, *Foundations of a Planned Economy, 1926–1929*, 6 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1969), Volume 1, p. 34.
51. Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 33.
52. Kumanev, p. 18.
53. This source, M.I., 'Ob otnoshenii V.I. Lenina k I.V. Staline' (f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 398), was first printed in *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, p. 198.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*
56. Kumanev, p. 30.
57. See for example, McNeal, p. 255; Adam B. Ulam, *Stalin: The Man and His Era* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1974), p. 252; Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 33; *XIV S"ezd*, Volume 1, p. 165 and p. 299.
58. M.I., in *XIV S"ezd*, Volume 1, p. 300.
59. Valentinov, *Encounters*, p. 141.
60. Letter, N.K. to L.B. Kamenev, quoted in McNeal, p. 221.
61. Pogodin, 'Shkola "Pravdy"', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 259.
62. McNeal, p. 255.
63. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 6 September 1926, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 178.
64. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 11 September 1926, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 225, l. 36.
65. Evgenov, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 39.
66. *Ibid.*
67. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 2 September 1926 in *M.I.: O V. I. Lenine*, p. 348; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 20 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 15.
68. 'Privetstvie tov. N.K. Krupskoi', in *Pravda*, 28 May 1926, p. 4.
69. Letter, M.I. to A.I., 5 August 1927, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 225, l. 48.
70. McNeal, p. 262.
71. Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 33.
72. Kumanev, p. 110.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
74. Buranov, p. 171.
75. See, for example, McNeal, Trotsky, *Diary*, and Kumanev.
76. M.I., in *Izvestiia*, 1989, No. 12, p. 196.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 197 and p. 199.
78. *Ibid.*, p. 197.
79. *Ibid.*
80. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–197.
81. Letter, M.I. to A.I. Eramasov, after 2 February 1925 and before 9 August 1926, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 341, l. 2, quoted in Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 257. Page 2 was missing (or had been removed) from the file when I ordered it in RGASPI in July 2006.
82. Cohen, p. 226.

83. *Ibid.*
84. *Izvestiia*, 1989, No. 12, p. 200.
85. Letter, Stalin to M.I., 12 November 1927, in f. 558, o. 11, d. 819, l. 41.
86. Letter, Stalin to M.I., 19 October 1927, in f. 558, o. 11, d. 819, l. 37; Letter, Bukharin to M.I., 19 October 1927, in f. 558, o. 11, d. 819, l. 38.
87. 'Otkrytie IV vsesoiuznogo soveshchaniia rabsel'korov', in *Pravda*, 28 November 1928, p. 3; Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 61.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*, l. 62.
90. Radzinsky, p. 328.
91. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 62.
92. *Ibid.*
93. *Khrushchev Remembers*, ed. by Strobe Talbott, introduction by E. Crankshaw, trans. by Strobe Talbott (London: Sphere Books, 1971), p. 39.
94. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
95. Letter, I. Filipchenko to M.I., 16 August 1928, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 272, l. 52.
96. Evgenov, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 190.
97. Pogodin, in *Ibid.*, p. 259.
98. *Ibid.*
99. M.I., 'O tak nazyvaemom "antisovetskom pravotrotskistskom bloke"', in *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, 1989, No. 1, pp. 122–131.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
102. *Ibid.*
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Stalin's Letters to Molotov, 1925–1936*, ed. by Lars T. Lih, Oleg V. Naumov and Oleg V. Khlevniuk, trans. by Catherine A. Fitzpatrick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 155.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
106. S. Volodin, 'Vyezd na zavod "Dinamo"', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 176.
107. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 62.
108. *Ibid.*, l. 63.
109. 'Vystuplenie tov. Ul'ianovoi' in Materialy biuro iacheiki VKP(b) Instituta V.I. Lenina po obvineniiu M.I. Ul'ianovoi v nedostatochnoi bor'be s pravym ukonom v partii, in f. 613, o. 3, ed. khr. 192, l. 1.
110. Question and answer session, in Materialy biuro, in f. 613, o. 3, ed. khr. 192, l. 2.
111. 'V iacheiku VKP(b) pri Institute', in Materialy biuro, in f. 613, o. 3, ed. khr. 192, l. 3.
112. *Ibid.*
113. 'Vyderzhki iz rezoliutsii ot 10/XI/30 g.', in Materialy biuro, in f. 613, o. 3, ed. khr. 192, l. 4.
114. *XVI S"ezda vsesoiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (b). Stenograficheskii otchet. 2-e stereotipnoe izdanie*. (Moscow: Ogiz moskovskii rabochii, 1931), p. 779.
115. Letter, M.I. to M.A., no date, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 61, l. 5. Mariia identified the person to whom she wrote this letter only by the initials M.A. Presumably s/he was a worker at the Lenin Institute. The letter is

probably from the early 1930s. It is possible to date it roughly because of Mariia's reference in the letter to completing her biography of her father. This was published in 1931.

116. Radzinsky, p. 356.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 358.
118. Anna Larina, *This I Cannot Forget: The Memoirs of Nikolai Bukharin's Widow* (London: Hutchinson, 1993), p. 332.
119. Radzinsky, p. 356.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *Ibid.*
122. Larina, p. 341.
123. *Ibid.*
124. Letter, N.K. to A.I. Radchenko, quoted in Kumanev, p. 140.
125. Victor Serge, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary, 1901–1941*, ed. and trans. by Peter Sedgewick (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 82.
126. *Ibid.*
127. Larina, p. 286.
128. *Ibid.*
129. Kumanev, p. 215. Mariia's colleague at *Pravda*, Mikhail Efimovich Kol'tsov, witnessed the meeting and told his brother Boris about it later the same day.
130. Stalin's appointments diary, covering the years 1926 to 1937, was published in the journal *Istoricheskii arkhiv* between 1994 and 1995 (1994, No. 6 and 1995, Nos. 2–6). No meetings with Nadezhda Konstantinovna were recorded and only one with Mariia was noted, on 11 May 1926 ('*Arkhir vozhdai: Posetiteli kremlevskogo kabineta I.V. Stalina*', in *Istoricheskii arkhiv*, 1994, No. 6, p. 11).
131. Kumanev, p. 215.
132. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 1 May 1925, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 116.
133. Letter, A.I. to un-named 'comrade', 29 January 1926, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 265, l. 10.
134. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 13 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 30.
135. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 3 August 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 4.
136. *Ibid.*, l. 3; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 28 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 21.
137. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 24 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 119; Letter, A.I. to M.I., 9 August 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 28. This refers to Krupskaiia's speech at the 1927 Central Committee and Central Control Commission Plenum in which she, under pressure from Stalin, supported him and attacked the Zinov'ev-Trotsky opposition (McNeal, p. 262).
138. See, for example, letter, G.I. Lozgagev to M.I., 10 September 1928, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 318, l. 1.
139. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 1 July 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 21.
140. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 1 August 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 24.
141. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 25 May 1931, in f. 13, o. 1 ed. khr. 132, l. 299 and Footnote 2, in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 330. B. Sol.'s full name was Boris Solomonovich Veisbrod.
142. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 6 August 1927, in f. 13, o. 1 ed. khr. 132, l. 27.
143. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 13 August 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 32.

144. M.S. Ol'minskii, diary, 20 March 1931, in f. 91, o. 1, ed. khr. 12, l. 146.
145. *Ibid.*
146. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 25 May 1931, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 97.
147. See, for example, letters, nephew of Petr Fedorovich Asanin to A.I., 18 May 1935, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 270, l. 1 and A.I. to Kuibyshevskii Industrial'nyi Institut, written after 1932, in f. 13., o. 1., ed. khr. 272, l. 6.
148. Letter, A.I. to M.N. Chebotareva, 28 April 1928, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 416, l. 2. It seems likely that M.N. Chebotareva is the sister of I.N. Chebotarev, Anna's friend from university.
149. *Ibid.*
150. *Ibid.*
151. Kumanev, p. 173 and p. 177.
152. *Ibid.*
153. Georges Haupt and Jean Jacques Marie, *Makers of the Russian Revolution*, transl. by D.M. Bellos (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1969), p. 17.
154. Letter, A.I. to M.S. Ol'minskii, 23 September 1921, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 393, l. 1–2.
155. *Ibid.*
156. Shtein, p. 56.
157. Various articles appeared in *Pravda* drawing attention to the issue, including: M. Gorkii, 'Ob antisemitizme', 26 September 1929, p. 3.
158. Shtein, pp. 57–58.
159. Letter, A.I. to Stalin, 28 December 1932, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 471, l. 1–2.
160. Letter, A.I. to Stalin, written in 1934, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 471, l. 5.
161. *Ibid.*
162. *Ibid.*
163. *Ibid.*
164. Statements submitted to the Central Committee, 22 June 1929, in *Stalin's Letters*, pp. 155–158.
165. *Stalin's Letters*, p. 156 and p. 157.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
167. Letter, M.I. to Secretariat of the CC of the VKP(b), 6 October 1930, in f. 17, o. 163, ed. khr. 852, l. 135.
168. Molotov's note, on letter, M.I. to Secretariat in f. 17, o. 163, ed. khr. 852, l. 135.
169. *Ibid.* Molotov's emphasis.
170. *Ibid.*
171. 'Question and answer session' in Materialy biuro, in f. 613, o. 3, ed. khr. 192, l. 2.
172. Letter, M.I. to Secretariat of the CC of the VKP(b), 6 October 1930, in f. 17, o. 163, ed. khr. 852, l. 135.
173. O. Toom, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 303.
174. M.S. Shaginian, *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh (tetralogiia): ocherki i stat'i o Lenine, 1935–1988* (Moscow: Khudozhestvennaia literatura, 1988), p. 682.
175. Diagilev, p. 153.
176. *Ibid.*
177. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
178. Letter, M.I. to V.D. Kuznetsov, 11 November 1932, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 54, l. 1.

179. 'Vystupleniia M.I. Ul'ianovoi na plenum TsKK VKP(b) (May 1936) o rabote Biuro zhalob Komissii sovietskogo controlia', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 401, l. 2.
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*, l. 3.
182. *Ibid.*
183. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 263.
184. O. Toom, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 301; Diagilev, p. 156.
185. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 269.
186. Photograph, in *Pravda*, 9 March 1935, p. 1.
187. N.K.'s obituary of M.I., quoted in Diagilev, p. 152; 'Vospominaniia M.N. Poiarkovoi (Shmelevoi) o sem'e Ul'ianovykh', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 456, l. 4.
188. Krylova, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 128 and p. 132.
189. Letter, N. Kudelli to M.I., 28 August after 1932, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 268, l. 112. Kudelli's emphasis.
190. O. Toom, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 301.

## Chapter 6 The Sisters and History

1. Istpart merged with the Lenin Institute in 1928, and in 1931, the Lenin Institute merged with the Marx-Engels Institute to form the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute (Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, pp. 110–111).
2. Barbara Evans Clements, 'Mariia Il'ichna Ul'ianova', in *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, ed. by Joseph L. Wiczyński (Gulf Breeze: Academic International Press, 1976–1993), p. 190.
3. Letter, Director of the Museum of the Revolution to A.I., 3 December 1927, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 301, l. 7; Letter, Lenin Institute to A.I., no date, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 301, l. 6; Letter, A.N. Grochiev to M.I., 25 March 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 267, l. 31.
4. Letter, Lenin Institute to A.I., 31 March 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 58, l. 4.
5. *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine i sem'e Ul'ianovykh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1989).
6. *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine i sem'e Ul'ianovykh* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo politicheskoi literatury, 1988).
7. Tumarkin, p. 129.
8. M.I., 'O nekotorykh "vospominaniakh" ob Il'iche', in *Pravda*, 8 June 1924, p. 1.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. M.I., review of biography of Lenin by Arasev, no date, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 91, l. 1–2.
12. *Ibid.*, l. 1.
13. Letter, M.I. to Shaginian, 22 September 1936, quoted in Shaginian, pp. 682–683.
14. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 108.



15. *Ibid.*, p. 107.
16. A.I., 'Professor-opportunist o Lenine', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1924, No. 11, p. 128.
17. 'Soobshcheniia Istparta', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 296.
18. *Ibid.*; 'Primechaniia k stat'e A. Tabeiko "Iz proshlogo tov. Lenina"', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, pp. 294–295.
19. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 23 June 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 75. Anna is referring to V. Alekseev and A. Shver, *Sem'ia Ul'ianovykh v Simbirske, 1869–1887*, ed. by A.I. Ul'ianova (Moscow: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo, 1925).
20. A.I., in Alekseev, p. 37 and p. 64.
21. Zorin, 'Ona umela postoiat' za cheloveka', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 212.
22. *Ibid.*
23. 'Protiv plagiata, literaturnoi vydumki i vran'ia', 1 March 1930, in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 288.
24. 'Eshche raz protiv pereviraniia i peredelok chuzhikh proizvedenii', 1930, in *Ibid.*, p. 289.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 289–290. Anna's emphasis.
26. Valentinov, *Early Years*, pp. 15–16.
27. A.I., 'Vospominaniia ob Il'iche', in *Vospominaniia o Lenine*, Volume 1, p. 21.
28. A.I., 'Po povodu pisem Vladimira Il'icha k rodnym', in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. xlv and p. xxxv.
29. *Ibid.*, p. xxxv.
30. *Ibid.*, p. xlvii.
31. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, pp. 177–195 and in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, pp. 156–162.
32. A.I., in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. 1.
33. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 94.
34. 'Rech' na vechere vospominanii', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 179.
35. M.I., 'Predislovie k sborniku "Pis'ma k rodnym", izdaniia 1930 goda', in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. xii.
36. See, for example, 'Otdykh i okhota', 'Na otdykhe', 'Lenin i muzyka' and 'Kharakternie cherty Vladimira Il'icha', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 71, p. 108, p. 156 and p. 128; M.I., in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. xxxi.
37. M.I., 'From Reminiscences of Lenin', in *Reminiscences of Lenin*, pp. 116–117.
38. 'Rech' na traurnom zasedanii Moskovskogo soveta, posviashchennom pamiati Vladimira Il'icha Ul'ianova (Lenina), 7 fevralia 1924 g.', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 43; Trotsky, *Young Lenin*, p. 118.
39. *Ibid.*; Valentinov, *Early Years*, p. 112.
40. Trotsky, *Young Lenin*, p. 118.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 104 and p. 118. Trotsky, *Diary*, p. 33.
42. Trotsky, *Young Lenin*, p. 201.
43. Trotsky, *My Life*, p. 351.
44. 'V Simbirske', in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 38.
45. M.I., 'Rech' tov. M.I. Ul'ianovoi', to the Moscow Soviet Plenum, in *Pravda*, 8 February 1924, p. 3.

46. A.I., in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, pp. xlviii–l.
47. White, p. 188.
48. Merridale, p. 53.
49. *Ibid.*
50. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 16; 'K stat'e g. V. Nazar'eva', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 257.
51. Merridale, p. 109 and p. 182.
52. V. Kriazhin, 'Literatura o Lenine', in *Krasnaia nov'*, 1924, No. 3, p. 216.
53. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 29.
54. Shaginian, p. 682; Medvedeva, 'Moi vstrechi s Ul'ianovymi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 18, l. 1–9.
55. Ol'minskii's diary, entry for 22 September 1928, in f. 91, o. 1, ed. khr. 12, l. 33.
56. Mikhail Kol'tsov, 'Zhena. Sestra.', in *Pravda*, 30 January 1924, p. 3; Anon., 'Pokhorony V.I. Lenina', in *Pravda*, 30 January 1924, p. 3.
57. *Ibid.*
58. Letter, Section of Red Directors at the journal *Predpriiatie* to *Pravda*, in *Pravda*, 26 January 1924, p. 3; Kol'tsov, in *Pravda*, 30 January 1924, p. 2.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*
61. 'Letter', N. Bukharin and 42 others (many of whom wrote in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*) to M.I., in *Pravda*, 5 May 1927, p. 3.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Mariia was celebrated in *Pravda* on Den' pečati in 1923–1927. See I. Lomskii, 'Chelovek kotorii organizoval rabochikh korrespondentov', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1923, p. 5; Letter, Rabochie-korrespondenty 'Pravdy' to M.I., 'Nash privet', in *Pravda*, 4 May 1924, p. 3; 'Rabkory "Pravdy" – Marii Il'ichne', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1925, p. 6; Mariia's speech at the Third Rabkor conference, 'Zadachi rabsel'korovskogo dvizheniia' was printed in *Pravda*, 5 May 1926, p. 6; Letter, *Pravda* workers to M.I., in *Pravda*, 5 May 1927, p. 3; in *Pravda* on 5 May 1928, p. 4, there was one reference to Mariia in an article by M. Savel'ev, 'Oktiabr'skaia "Pravda"', but no reference at all to Mariia in an article, on the same page, which was entitled 'Rabsel'kory "Pravdy"'.  
 64. B. Gorelik, 'Rabsel'korovskogo dvizhenie pered XVI parts'ezdom', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1930, p. 3.
65. I. Ran, 'Desiat' let raboty v "Pravde" tov. M.E. Kol'tsova', in *Pravda*, 12 August 1930, p. 5.
66. Lynne Attwood, 'Rationality versus Romanticism: Representations of Women in the Stalinist Press, in *Gender in Russian History*, p. 160.
67. Articles by Mariia on political subjects (as opposed to reminiscences of Lenin) can be found in *Pravda* throughout the years 1917–1929, but after that none appear until 1933, when Mariia began writing about the Bureau of Complaints.
68. See, for example, M.I., 'Pervoe pokushenie na V.I. Lenina', in *Pravda*, 14 January 1925, p. 1; M.I., 'Poiski Il'icha v pervie dni iulija 1917 goda (Otryvki iz vospominanii)', in *Pravda*, 21 January 1927, p. 5; M.I., 'O napadenii na V.I. Lenina banditov (Otryvki iz vospominanii)', in *Pravda*, 21 January 1930, p. 4.

69. See, for example, M.I., 'Rech' na trauirom zasedanii moskovskogo soveta, posviashchennom pamiati Vladimira Il'icha Ul'ianova (Lenina), 7 fevralia 1924', 'Akkuratnost', punktual'nost', chetkost', and 'Besedy s uchashchimisia 364–ii shkoly g. Moskvy 23 noiabria 1936 g. (stenogramma), in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 43, p. 139 and p. 146.
70. 'My zhili družno', in *Ibid.*, p. 42.
71. M.I., in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. xiii.
72. *Ibid.*, p. xxiii; M.I., in *Pravda*, 14 January 1925, p. 1; M.I., in *Pravda*, 21 January 1930, p. 4.
73. In 1925 Mariia wrote about the work of *Pravda* after the February revolution and referred, briefly, to her own contribution (M.I., 'Vozrozhdenie "Pravdy" posle fevralia 1917 goda', in *Pravda*, 5 May 1925, p. 1).
74. M.I., 'Moi put' v revoliutsiiu', in *Pravda*, 18 February 1968, p. 3.
75. *Ibid.*
76. *Ibid.*
77. M.I., in *Izvestiia CC KPSS*, 1989, No. 12, pp. 197–198.
78. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 75.
79. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 29 August 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 101.
80. Diagilev, p. 59.
81. Letter, Saratov Krai Committee to M.I., 26 February 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 3.
82. Letter, Saratov Krai Committee to M.I., 10 February 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 1; Letter, Saratov Krai Committee to M.I., 26 February 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 216, l. 3.
83. O. Toom, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 301.
84. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 23 June 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 75.
85. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 29 July 1924, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 131, l. 94.
86. A.I., in *Iz epokhi*, pp. 63–78.
87. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 7–8, pp. 177–195.
88. 'Iz avtobiografii Anny Il'inichny Ul'ianovoi-Elizarovoi', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1935, No. 6, p. 189.
89. A.I., in *Delo 1 marta*, p. 93.
90. 'Zhizn' v Kazani', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 120; A.I., 'Iz vystupleniia O V.I. Lenine v godovshinu ego smerti', speech made in January 1925, in *Ibid.*, p. 175.
91. A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1930, No. 5, pp. 156–162; A.I., in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1929, No. 11, pp. 87–91.
92. A.I., in *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii*, Volume 55, p. xxxvi.
93. 'Nachalo revoliutsionnoi raboty Vladimira Il'icha Ul'ianova (N. Lenina)', and 'Iz predisloviia k "Pis'mam V.I. Lenina k rodnym (1910–1916)" ', in *A.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 130. and p. 177.
94. A.I., in *Reminiscences of Lenin*, p. 44.
95. Letter, M.I. to the workers and servicemen of factory No. 12, 1929, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 233, l. 1. There is no date on the letter, but Mariia refers to the twelfth year of the Soviet regime.
96. *Ibid.*
97. Letter, The Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova Kolomenskii factory school to M.I., 12 March 1934, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 233, l. 2.

98. Letter, the Ershov to M.I., undated, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 267, l. 108. There is no date, though the letter is amongst other letters from the 1930s.
99. *Ibid.*
100. Einarovicha would have known about this because of Mariia's article 'O napadenii na V.I. Lenina banditov (Otryvki iz vospominanii)', in *Pravda*, 21 January 1930, p. 4.
101. Letter, E. Einarovicha to M.I., 19 May 1936, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 264, l. 1. She does not mention Anna Ul'ianova because she had died in 1935.
102. Letter, A.I. to M.I., 2 June 1931, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 132, l. 102.
103. Medvedeva, 'Moi vstrechi s Ul'ianovymi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 18, l. 6 and l. 9.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Letters, M.I. to Gora, 18 December 1931, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 227, l. 59 and M.I. to Gora, 12 November 1935, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 227, l. 62.
106. *Ibid.*
107. Letter, M.I. to Gora, 12 November 1935, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 227, l. 62.
108. *Ibid.*
109. Letter, I. Gorbunov-Posadich to M.I. and N.K., no date, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 245, l. 1. This letter was obviously written around the time of Anna's death in October 1935.
110. Letter, S.S. Nazarov, A.I. Kam'kov, G.K. Beliaev and others to M.I., October 1935, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 245, l. 2.
111. 'Ot komissii po organizatsii pokhoron A.I. Elizarovoi-Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p. 1.
112. 'Zhiznennii put' Anny Il'inichny', M. Savel'ev, 'Pamiati stareishego chlena nashei partii', and A. Lezhava, 'Chutkii, otzyvchivii tovarishch', in *Pravda*, 20 October 1935, p. 3.
113. 'Zhiznennii put' Anny Il'inichny', in *Pravda*, 20 October 1935, p. 3.
114. *Ibid.*; 'Zhiznennii put' Anny Il'inichny', in *Stal'naia magistral' (Organ politotdela Ekaterinskoi zheleznoi dorogi)*, 21 October 1935, p. 1.
115. 'Iz avtobiografii Anny Il'inichny Ul'ianovoi-Elizarovoi', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1935, No. 6, p. 132. The autobiography is presented as if it were written by Anna, but it seems unlikely that she would not have mentioned her brother's involvement in the plot to assassinate the Tsar.
116. Letter, Dimitrov, Manuil'skii, Kuusinen, Pik, Moskvina, Stasova, Kirsanova, Gopner, Tskhakaia and Anvel't to *Pravda*, 'Stoikii borets za kommunizm', in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p. 2.
117. Savel'ev, in *Pravda*, 20 October 1935, p. 3.
118. Lezhava, in *Ibid.*, p. 3.
119. 'Proshchanie v Gorkhakh', S. Mitskevich, 'Pamiati stareishei bol'shevichki', and A.D. Kalinina, 'Anna Il'inichna i deti', in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p. 2.
120. Mitskevich, in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p. 2.
121. Kalinina, in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p. 2.
122. Lezhava, in *Pravda*, 20 October 1935, p. 3; Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1936, No. 1, p. 204.

123. 'Pokhorony A.I. Elizarovoi-Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 24 October 1935, p. 2; Letter, M.I. to D.I., 22 October 1935, in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 369.
124. *Ibid.*
125. Kunetskaia, *Mariia Ul'ianova*, p. 265.
126. N. Antipov sent a request to Stalin and Molotov that they decide where Mariia was to be buried, in f. 14, o.1, ed. khr. 39, l.14; Memo, N. Antipov, chair of the committee for the organisation of M.I. Ul'ianova's funeral, to Stalin and Molotov, 13 June 1937, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 34.
127. Photograph of crowds of mourners in Red Square on 14 June 1937, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 289.
128. In 1928, the State Universal Store building on Red Square, known as GUM, was made into an office building for the committee overseeing The First Five Year Plan. In 1932, the body of Stalin's wife, Nadezhda, was displayed in the building and during the 1930s, the building continued to be used for non-commercial purposes.
129. Memo, N. Antipov to Stalin and Molotov, 12 June 1937, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 14.
130. 'Pokhorony M.I. Ul'ianovoi. Traurnii miting na Krasnoi ploschadi', in *Pravda*, 15 June 1937, p. 1.
131. 'Ot komissii po organizatsii pokhorony chlena TsIK Soiuza SSR, chlena Biuro Komissii Sovetskogo Kontrolia pri SNK SSSR, zaveduiushchei Biuro Zhalob komissii sovetского kontrolia tov. Ul'ianovoi M.I.', in *Pravda*, 14 June 1937, p. 1; 'Pokhorony M.I. Ul'ianovoi', in *Pravda*, 15 June 1937, p. 1.
132. 'Ot tsentral'nogo komiteta vse-soiuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (bol'shevikov)', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 4.
133. G. Chubaria, radio speech, biography of M.I., 14 June 1937, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 44–48.
134. N.K., 'Sestra Vladimira Il'icha', in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 5.
135. *Ibid.*
136. *Ibid.*
137. Letter, D.I., N.K., Z.P. Krzhizhanovskaia, G.M. Krzhizhanovskii, E.D. Stasova, M.M. Zosen, I.I. Radchenko, L.A. Fotieva, R.S. Obratsova, P.F. Kudelli, A.D. Kalinina, and ten others, '40 let na boevom postu', to *Pravda*, in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 5.
138. The telegrams are collected in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 67–102. They were sent from places such as Gorki, Kazan, Rostov, Ivanovskaia oblast', Leningradskaia oblast' and Leningrad, Piatigorsk, Voronezha oblast', Dnepropetrovsk, Minsk, Kuibyshevskaja oblast', Novosibirsk, Tashkent, Sverdlovsk, Simferopol', Kiev, Khar'khov, Ufa, Arkhangel'sk, Stalingrad, Cheliabinsk. Almost all stressed Mariia's long service to the Party as well as the help she gave Lenin.
139. R. Zemliachka, on behalf of the Soviet Control Committee, 'Liubimomu drugu i tovarishchu po rabote', in f. 14, o. 1, ed., khr. 39, l.21. A letter from a worker collective of the Commission of Soviet Control, signed by over sixty people followed a similar format (f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 24–25).

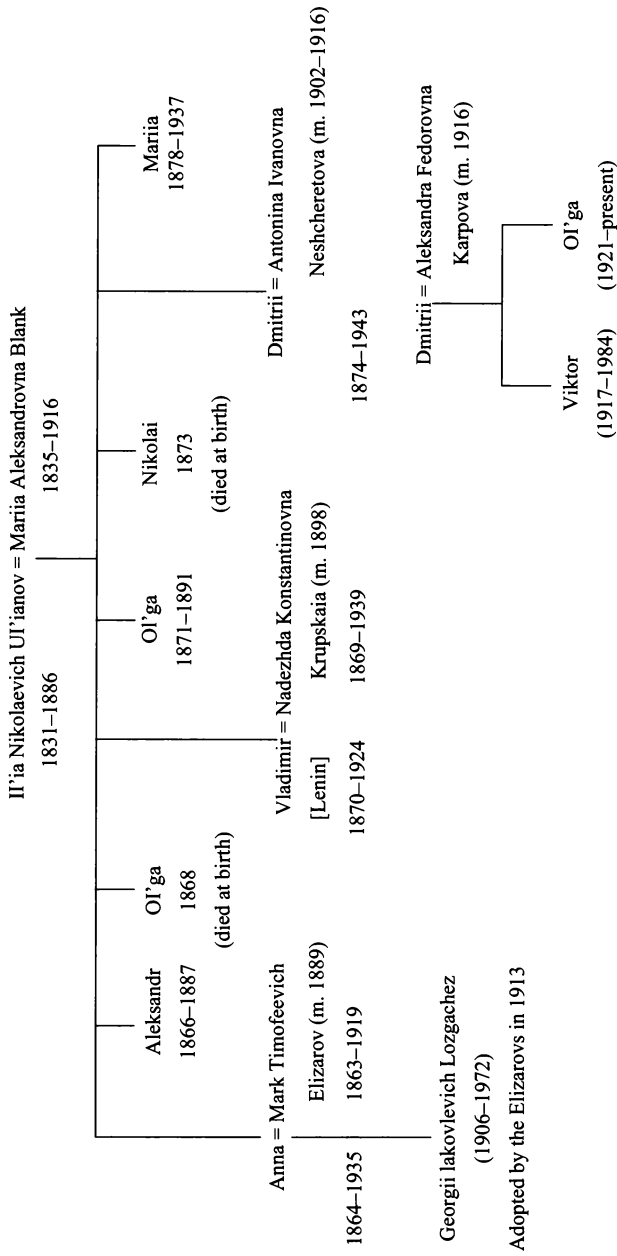
140. Letter, from Workers of the Bureau of Complaints, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 27.
141. Telegram, Moskovskii oblastnoi i Moskovskii gorodskoi komitety VKP(b) to *Pravda*, in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 4. Indeed, the Moscow committee stood by Mariia even during the smear campaign against her, electing her to the MKK in 1929 ('Bolshevistskie organizatsii Moskvyy i Leningrada – krepchaishaia opora tsentral'nogo komiteta VKP(b). Novii sostav rukovodiashchikh organov', in *Pravda*, 7 March 1929, p. 4).
142. 'Vernii pomoshchnik Lenina', in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 4.
143. Letter, Komissii Sovetskogo Kontrolya pri SNK SSSR, to *Pravda*, 'Drugii i tovarishchu po rabote', in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 5.
144. 'Vernii pomoshchnik Lenina', and 'Zhiznennii put' (Kratkaia biografiia)', in *Pravda*, 13 June 1937, p. 4.
145. N. Antipov was the chair of the committee for the organisation of M.I. Ul'ianova's funeral.
146. Letter, I.M. Dineev to N. Antipov, 14 June 1937, in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 39, l. 53–54.
147. McNeal, p. 295.
148. N.K., 'Sestra Il'icha', in *Zhenshchina strany sotsializma*, ed. by N.K. Krupskaiia (Moscow: Partizdat, 1938); M. Vsevolodov, 'Vernii pomoshchnik Il'icha', in *Ul'ianovskaia pravda*, 13 July 1948 (the seventieth anniversary of Mariia's birth); M. Krylova, 'Blizhaishii soratnik V.I. Lenina', in *Ul'ianovskaia pravda*, 8 March 1945; A. Kitsinskaia, 'Nezabyvaemoe', in *Uchitel'skaia gazeta*, 22 January 1941.
149. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 72.
150. See, for example, A. Piaskovskii, 'K 40-letiiu vykhoda v svet "Iskry"', in *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, 1940, p. 7 and p. 13.
151. Alongside Mariia, Anna was mentioned in I. Vasin, *Sotsial-demokraticheskoe dvizhenie v Moskve* (Moscow: 'Moskovskii rabochii', 1955); Anna's article in *Molodie gody V.I. Lenina* (Moscow: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1957) was reissued. Also published were: E. Stasova, 'Zhenshchiny sem'i Ul'ianovykh', in *Sovetskaia zhenshchina*, 1956, No. 4, pp. 4–6; G. Lozgachev-Elizarov, *Nezabyvaemoe* (Saratov: Saratovskoe kn. iz-vo, 1957); G. Lozgachev, 'Nezabyvaemie vstrechi', in *Iunost'*, 1957, No. 1, pp. 84–91; 'Serdechnaia zabota o cheloveke: Pis'ma Anny Il'inichny Ul'ianovoi', in *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, 19 September 1956; Arenin, 'Dorogie nashemu serdtsu imena', in *Ul'ianovskaia pravda*, 30 September 1956; N. Nechvolodova and L. Reznichenko, *Iunost' Lenina* (Povest' M.: 'Molodaia gvardiia', 1957); L. Fotieva, *Iz zhizni Lenina* (Moscow: 1956); V. Dridzo, 'Nadezhda Konstantinovna', in *Novii mir*, 1957, No. 2, pp. 162–176; S. Vinogradskaiia, 'Pervie gody. Rasskazy', in *Novii mir*, 1957, No. 10, pp. 26–62; Iu.M. Gol'tsman, *Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova-Elizarova (Pamiatka chitateliu)* (Ul'ianovsk: 1957); Iu.M. Gol'tsman, *Mariia Il'inichna Ul'ianova (Pamiatka chitateliu)* (Ul'ianovsk: 1958).
152. Evgenov, 'Svetloi obraz', in f. 14, o. 1, ed. khr. 319, l. 76.
153. D.A. Ershov, *Bol'shoi drug rabsel'korov* (Moscow: Gospolitizdat, 1959).
154. See, for example, *Ibid.*, p. 19, p. 55, p. 78 and p. 89.
155. 'Vospominaniia V.A. Levitskogo', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 389, l. 2.
156. Bystrova, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, pp. 122–125.

157. Posvianskii, in *Slavnie bol'shevichki*, p. 19 and p. 21.
158. Medvedeva, 'Moi vstrechi s Ul'ianovymi', in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 18, l. 6.
159. Rabinovich, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 277.
160. *Ibid.*
161. Bor. Efimov, 'Vospominaniia khudozhnika' in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 196.
162. Zaslavskii, in *Ibid.*, p. 207; Bonch-Bruevich, p. 372.
163. Piskunova, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 275.
164. Savitskaia, in *Voprosy istorii KPSS*, 1987, No. 8, p. 98; Liudmila Pinnuk, 'Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova', in *Zhenshchiny russkoi revoliutsii*, p. 29.
165. *Ibid.*
166. Kalinina, in *Pravda*, 21 October 1935, p.2.
167. Kudelli, in *Krasnaia letopis'*, 1936, No. 1, p. 204.
168. Reproduced in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 200.
169. Zorin, in *Ibid.*, p. 210; Prof. V. Tonkov, 'Pamiatnaia vstrecha', in *Ibid.*, p. 296.
170. Kossov, in *Ibid.*, p. 238.
171. Kol'tsov, in *Pravda*, 30 January 1924, p. 2.
172. Zaslavskii, in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 207.
173. Pogodin, in *Ibid.*, p. 258.
174. Letter, N. Slotishchev to A.I., 25 December 1933, in f. 13, o. 1, ed. khr. 334, l. 1.
175. N. Riabova, 'Nezabyvaemoe vremia', in *Sekretar' 'Pravdy'*, p. 290.
176. *Ibid.*
177. V.A. Kumanev and I.S. Kulikova, *Protivo-stoianie: Krupskaia – Stalin* (Moscow: Nayka, 1994); M.G. Shtein, *Ul'ianovy i Leniny: tainy rodoslovnoi i psevdonima* (St Petersburg: VIRD, 1997).
178. Yalom, in *Revealing Lives*, p. 61.
179. Jane McDermid and Anna Hillyar, *Midwives of the Revolution: Female Bolsheviks and women workers in 1917* (London: University of the City of London Press, 1999).

## Conclusion

1. Mirsky, pp. 3–4.
2. O.D. Ul'ianova, in *M.I.: O V.I. Lenine*, p. 30.

# Appendix 1 Ul'ianov Family Tree





# Appendix 2      Chronology

## 1864

13 August:      Anna is born.

## 1866

31 April:      Aleksandr is born.

## 1870

10 April:      Vladimir is born.

## 1871

4 November:      Ol'ga is born.

## 1874

4 August:      Dmitrii is born.

## 1878

6 February:      Mariia is born.

## 1881

May:      Anna finishes school and works as a teaching assistant at a local primary school.

## 1883

August:      Aleksandr enrolls at the University of St Petersburg.

September:      Anna enrolls on the Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses in St Petersburg.

## 1886

12 January:      Il'ia Nikolaevich dies.

17 November:      Anna takes part in her first demonstration, commemorating N.A. Dobroliubov.

## 1887

1 March:      Aleksandr is arrested for his participation in an attempt to assassinate Tsar Aleksandr III. Anna is arrested for suspected involvement in the plot.

8 May:      Aleksandr is executed.

11 May:      Anna is sent into administrative exile to Kokushkino, the family estate, for five years.

End of May:      Ol'ga finishes school.

June:      Ul'ianov family moves to Kazan.

August:      Vladimir enrolls at Kazan University.

November:      Ol'ga attends music school.

December: Vladimir is expelled from Kazan University and exiled to Kokushkino.

## 1889

March: Ol'ga leaves music school.

May: Ul'ianov family moves to Alakaevka estate, near Samara.

June: Anna marries Mark Timofeevich Elizarov.

## 1890

November: Ol'ga enrolls on the Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses in St Petersburg.

## 1891

Spring: Vladimir joins Ol'ga in St Petersburg and completes his law degree.

8 May: Ol'ga dies.

## 1892

May: Anna's term of exile ends, but she is placed under police surveillance for a further year.

## 1893

August: Mariia Aleksandrovna, Anna and Mark, Mariia and Dmitrii move to Moscow. Dmitrii enrolls at Moscow University. Vladimir moves to St Petersburg.

## 1894

Summer: Anna joins the Moscow Workers' Union. Vladimir joins Radchenko's social-democratic group in St Petersburg.

## 1895

May: Anna participates in the 1 May campaign of the Moscow Workers' Union. Vladimir goes to Switzerland and makes contact with Plekhanov's Liberation of Labour group.

8–9 December: Vladimir is arrested and imprisoned in St Petersburg.

## 1896

January: Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna visit St Petersburg to see Vladimir in prison. Anna joins the underground movement there.

Summer: Anna, Mariia and Mariia Aleksandrovna spend the summer near St Petersburg. Family returns to Moscow. Mariia finishes school and enrolls on the Guerrier Higher Women's Courses in Moscow.

## 1897

13 February: Vladimir is sentenced to three years in exile and is sent to Siberia.

Spring: Mariia and Dmitrii become involved in the underground movement, representing the Workers' Union in the Allied Council of United Student Societies.

- May: Anna goes to Switzerland for four months, meeting Plekhanov and Aksel'rod during her stay.
- November: Dmitrii is arrested and imprisoned for his revolutionary activities.
- December: Anna helps re-organise the Moscow Workers' Union after its leader, Dubrovinskii, is arrested.

## 1898

- 1–3 March: First Congress of the RSDRP.
- Summer: Dmitrii is freed from prison and sent to Tula.
- 10 July: Vladimir and Nadezhda marry.
- Autumn: Anna helps found the first Moscow Committee of the RSDRP. Mariia joins the party before moving to Brussels to attend university there.

## 1899

- Summer: Mariia returns to Moscow and begins revolutionary activities. Anna sends Vladimir the 'Credo'. Dmitrii settles in Podol'sk and continues his studies.
- 30 September: Mariia is arrested and exiled to Nizhnii Novgorod.

## 1900

- January: Mariia returns from exile to Moscow, but has her international passport revoked.
- February: Vladimir returns from exile to Moscow.
- June: Vladimir goes to Ufa to visit Nadezhda with Mariia Aleksandrovna and Anna.
- July: Vladimir moves to Zurich, then Munich.
- September: Anna goes abroad and visits Vladimir before going to Paris.
- October: Dmitrii returns to university to complete his studies.
- 11 December: *Iskra* is published for the first time.

## 1901

- 1 March: Mark and Mariia are arrested in Moscow.
- May: Anna moves to Berlin and works with Petr Smidovich at an *Iskra* group.
- June: Anna goes to Rügen island.
- October: Mariia is exiled to Samara for three years and joins the Bureau of the Russian Organisation of *Iskra*. She is joined by Mariia Aleksandrovna and Dmitrii. Mark is exiled for two years. He settles first in Syzran'.

## 1902

- January: Mariia takes part in the First All-Russian *Iskra* Conference.
- March: Dmitrii moves to Samara to work as a doctor and becomes an *Iskra* agent.
- May: Mark moves to Tomsk. Dmitrii moves to Odessa.
- June: Anna moves to Dresden.

- August: Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna holiday with Vladimir in Brittany. Both return to Samara. Dmitrii is arrested and imprisoned for his revolutionary activities.
- September: Dmitrii is freed from prison and goes to Samara.
- October: Anna goes to Tomsk and establishes an *Iskra* group there.

### 1903

- Spring: Vladimir moves to Geneva. Anna and Mark go to Port Arthur. Dmitrii works as an *Iskra* agent in Tula.
- 17 July: Second Congress of the RSDRP (lasts until 10 August). Dmitrii attends the Congress, then returns to Kiev.
- September: Mark goes to Japan, then takes three months travelling round the world, stopping in Paris to see Vladimir and returning to St Petersburg. Anna goes to her mother and sister in Samara.
- 7 October: Mariia moves to Kiev.
- 12 October: Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna move to Kiev.
- 19 October: Vladimir leaves *Iskra* editorial board.
- December: Mark settles in Sablino, near St Petersburg. Dmitrii returns to Kiev.

### 1904

- 1–2 January: Anna, Mariia and Dmitrii are arrested and imprisoned in Kiev.
- June: Mariia is released and allowed to move to Sablino, near St Petersburg, where she joins the St Petersburg Committee.
- July: Anna is released from prison under police surveillance. She moves to Sablino and joins the RSDRP's work in St Petersburg.
- August: Vladimir holds the Conference of the Twenty-Two Bolsheviks in Geneva.
- October: Mariia moves to Geneva to live with Vladimir and Nadezhda and joins the Bureau of Committees of the Majority.
- December: Mariia attends the meeting at which the new Bolshevik organ, *Vpered*, is launched (published until May 1905). Dmitrii is freed from prison.

### 1905

- 9 January: Anna witnesses Bloody Sunday.
- Spring: Dmitrii settles in Simbirsk where he works as a doctor and joins the local RSDRP committee.
- 12 April: Third (Bolshevik) RSDRP Congress (lasts until 27 April). Mark participates in the first congress of railwaymen in Moscow.
- May: *Proletarii* is launched (published until November).
- August: Mariia returns to St Petersburg and begins working for the Vasilevskii Island and Petersburg RSDRP Committee. Both Anna and Mariia work for *Proletarii*.
- October: Bolshevik newspaper, *Novaia zhizn'*, is published (until December). Mariia works for the editorial board.
- 17 October: The October Manifesto is issued, promising reforms in Russia.
- 8 November: Vladimir arrives in St Petersburg.
- 18 November: Nadezhda arrives in St Petersburg.

- 8 December: Mark is arrested for his involvement in the railwaymen's strike of October.
- 12 December: First Conference of the RSDRP (Bolsheviks) (until 17 December).

## 1906

- Spring: Dmitrii moves to Lipitino, Moscow guberniia, and continues to work for the Bolsheviks.
- February: Mark is freed, but is exiled to Syzran' for three years. Anna stays in St Petersburg.
- 10 April: Fourth (Unity) Congress of RSDRP in Stockholm (lasts until 25 April).
- 27 April: First State Duma (until 8 July).
- June: Anna visits Mark in Syzran' for two months and helps him move to Samara.
- August: Bolshevik *Proletarii* is published again (until November 1909).
- 20 August: Vladimir moves to Kuokkala, Finland. Mariia acts as his go-between, enabling him to maintain contact with Bolsheviks in St Petersburg.
- December: Anna visits Mark in Samara, using her trip to transport illegal literature.

## 1907

- January: Anna arrested while travelling back to St Petersburg and imprisoned for a month.
- 20 February: Second State Duma (until 2 June).
- 30 April: Fifth Congress of the RSDRP, in London (until 19 May).
- 2 May: Mariia is arrested, but released, and goes to Samara.
- June: Anna holidays with Vladimir in Finland and Mariia spends the summer there. Third State Duma (until 1912).
- 21 July: Third Conference of the RSDRP, in Kotka, Finland (until 23 July).
- October: Mariia returns to St Petersburg. Anna goes to abroad to retrieve certain party documents.
- 5 November: Fourth Conference of the RSDRP, in Kotka, Finland (until 12 November).
- December: Vladimir moves to Geneva (lives there until 1908).

## 1908

- February: Anna helps edit Vladimir's *Materialism and Empiriocriticism*.
- March: Mark moves to Eastern Siberia to work for the insurance society, Salamandra.
- May: *Materialism and Empiriocriticism* is published.
- Summer: Mariia, Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna spend the summer with Dmitrii, in Mikhnev.
- Autumn: Mariia, Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna move to Moscow. Mariia joins the Moscow party organisation, but then moves to Geneva.
- December: Mariia moves with Vladimir and Nadezhda to Paris, and begins studying at the Sorbonne.
- 21 December: Fifth RSDRP Conference (until 27 December).

**1909**

- February: Mark visits Mariia in Paris.  
 April: Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna holiday in the Crimea.  
 June: Mark returns to St Petersburg.  
 8 June: Vladimir holds meeting of *Proletarii* editorial board. Vladimir has Bogdanov expelled from the Bolsheviks.  
 August: Mariia goes to Bombon, France, with Vladimir. Anna goes to Ekaterinburg with Mark who is very ill. Both then move to Saratov and participate in revolutionary activities, including the publication of *Privolzhskaia gazeta*.  
 Autumn: Mariia goes to Moscow and settles with Mariia Aleksandrovna.

**1910**

- January: Plenum of the RSDRP Central Committee in Paris.  
 Spring: Mariia arrested in Moscow, but allowed to move to Finland to be a private tutor.  
 August: Eighth Congress of the Second International in Copenhagen. Mariia and Mariia Aleksandrovna visit Vladimir in Stockholm.  
 December: Mariia and Mariia Aleksandrovna join Mark and Anna in Saratov.

**1911**

- Spring: Dmitrii moves to Feodosiia where he works as a doctor and participates actively in Bolshevik activities in the Crimea.  
 May: Mariia goes to Finland via St Petersburg for a holiday.  
 June: Anna and Mark become acquainted with the Lozgagev family.  
 Summer: Anna and Mark go to Germany for cures.  
 October: Anna goes to Paris to visit Vladimir and Nadezhda, and then returns to Saratov with Mark.

**1912**

- January: Sixth Party Conference of Bolsheviks held in Prague.  
 7 May: Mariia and Anna are arrested in Saratov.  
 9 June: Vladimir moves to Krakow.  
 July: Anna is released and remains in Saratov.  
 October: Mariia is exiled to Vologda, where she participates in revolutionary activities.  
 15 November: Fourth State Duma (until February 1917).

**1913**

- February: Mariia's exile is reduced to one year because of the amnesty granted in honour of the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Romanov dynasty. Anna helps with the preparations for the celebrations of International Women's Day. Mark arranges the adoption of Gora.  
 June: Anna and Mariia Aleksandrovna visit Mariia in Vologda, after staying with Dmitrii in Feodosiia.  
 Autumn: Anna returns to St Petersburg where she begins to work for *Prosveshchenie*.

## 1914

- Spring: Anna works for *Pravda* (Bolshevik newspaper since 1912), becomes an editor of *Rabotnitsa* and a member of the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee.
- Summer: Mark returns to St Petersburg.
- August: Vladimir moves to Berne. Dmitrii is mobilised to serve as an army doctor in Sevastopol'.
- September: Mariia is arrested in Vologda and held in prison until the end of her term of exile.
- October: Mariia is released and moves to Moscow.

## 1915

- February: Mariia begins her training to become a Sister of Mercy at the front.
- May: Mariia is posted to the Western front.
- June: Mariia returns to Moscow.

## 1916

- March: Mariia moves to Petrograd to help care for her mother who is ill.
- June: Anna distributes *Kommunist* in Petrograd.
- 12 July: Mariia Aleksandrovna dies. Anna is arrested one week later.
- October: Anna is released and is allowed to stay in Petrograd because of her ill-health.

## 1917

- 20 February: Anna is arrested, but is quickly freed by the people during the February Revolution.
- 8 March: Anna and Mariia are co-opted onto the Russian Bureau of the Central Committee and contribute to the first edition of *Pravda*.
- 13 March: Mariia is made an official member of the editorial board of *Pravda*.
- 3 April: Vladimir returns from abroad. Later that month, he attends the Seventh RSDRP (Bolshevik) Conference and becomes editor of *Pravda*.
- June: Vladimir and Mariia holiday with Bonch-Bruевич.
- July: Mariia attends the Sixth RSDRP (Bolshevik) Congress in Petrograd.
- 25 October: The Bolsheviks take power.
- November: Mariia attends the Constituent Assembly with Vladimir and Nadezhda. Dmitrii is elected as a member of the Tavrida Oblast Committee of the Party.
- December: Mark begins a tour of the country, as People's Commissar for Ways of Communication. Mariia becomes the Executive Secretary of *Pravda*. Anna works at *Tkach*.

## 1918

- January: Mark is released from his job due to ill-health, but becomes Commissar of Insurance. Dmitrii is elected a member of the

editorial board of the newspaper *Tavricheskaia pravda* (*Tavrida Truth*).

March: Mariia moves to Moscow with the Bolshevik government. Dmitrii becomes the People's Commissar for Public Health of the first Soviet Republic of Tavrida.

April: Anna helps establish a children's colony at Tsarskoe Selo.

May: Anna moves to Moscow to become the head of the Department for the Protection of Childhood. Dmitrii leads the Bolshevik underground in Evpatoriia.

## 1919

January: 'Working Life' section of *Pravda* is established under Mariia.

10 March: Mark dies in St Petersburg.

May: Dmitrii becomes Deputy Chairman of Sovnarkom and People's Commissar for Public Health in the new Crimean Soviet Republic.

Summer: Anna sits on the Presidium of the All-Russian Congress of the Protection of Childhood. Anna helps found the Council for the Protection of Children.

August: Dmitrii becomes Political Commissar for the Thirteenth Army and a member of the revolutionary committee.

## 1920

November: DPC is transferred from Narkomsobes to Narkompros and Anna leaves the department. Dmitrii becomes a member of the All-Russian People's Commissariat of Public Health and head of the Central Administration of Crimean Health Resorts.

## 1921

April: Anna joins Istpart. Dmitrii settles in Moscow and works at the People's Commissariat of Public Health.

## 1922

April: Anna joins the editorial board of *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*, Istpart's journal.

May: *Pravda's* fifth and tenth anniversary. Vladimir suffers his first stroke.

## 1923

March: Vladimir suffers his second stroke.

November: Mariia participates in the First All-Union Conference of Rabkors.

## 1924

21 January: Vladimir dies.

November: Stalin assigns Anna to investigate the Ul'ianov family history.

December: Mariia participates in the Second All-Union Conference of Rabkors, Sel'kors, Voenkors and Iunkors.

## 1925

December: Mariia participates in the Fourteenth Party Congress, supporting Bukharin and Stalin.



## 1926

- May: Mariia participates in the Third All-Union Conference of Rabsel'kors.
- July: Joint Plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Committee. Mariia defends Stalin against the attacks made by Zinov'ev.

## 1927

- March: Anna in Berlin taking cures.
- July: Anna in Latvia taking cures, then returns to Berlin.
- December: Mariia participates in the Fifteenth Party Congress.

## 1928

- November: Mariia participates in the Fourth All-Union Conference of Rabsel'kors.

## 1929

- April: Mariia writes to Plenum to protest against the removal of Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsii from the Party.
- June: Mariia is removed from *Pravda* and sent to the Lenin Institute to prepare Lenin's letters for publication.

## 1930

- June: Mariia and Dmitrii participate in the Sixteenth Party Congress.
- October: Mariia writes to the Central Committee asking to leave *Pravda* permanently.

## 1931

- April-June: Mariia falls seriously ill and spends the rest of the year recuperating.

## 1932

- February: Mariia joins the Complaints Bureau.
- December: Anna is denied permission to publish information about Lenin's Jewish roots.

## 1933

- March: Mariia is awarded the Order of Lenin.

## 1934

- January: Anna is again denied permission to publish Lenin's Jewish roots. Mariia and Dmitrii participate in the Seventeenth Party Congress and Mariia is elected to the Soviet Control Commission.

## 1935

- March: Mariia joins Nadezhda, Stasova and Kollontai on the Presidium at the celebrations of International Women's Day.
- 20 October: Anna dies and is buried in St Petersburg.

**1937**

February: Mariia and Nadezhda participate in the commission to discuss the punishment of Bukharin and Rykov.

12 June: Mariia dies and is buried in the Kremlin Wall.

**1939**

27 February: Nadezhda dies and is buried in the Kremlin Wall.

**1943**

16 July: Dmitrii dies and is buried in Novodevichy Cemetery in Moscow.

## Appendix 3      Glossary of Names

### **Inessa Armand (1874–1920)**

Armand joined the RSDRP in 1903 and became a Bolshevik in 1904. In 1909, she went abroad and settled in Paris. She met Lenin there and worked for the Committee of Foreign Organizations, which coordinated Bolshevik groups in Europe. A member of the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*, she helped organise the International Conference of Socialist Women. She returned to Russia after the fall of Nicholas II, travelling in Lenin's sealed train. After the October revolution, Armand was made an executive member of the Moscow Region Soviet and in 1919 she became the director of the *Zhenotdel*. She died of cholera in 1920 and was buried in Red Square, Moscow.

### **Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Bogdanov (1873–1928)**

A member of the People's Will, Bogdanov became a Social-Democrat in the late 1890s and a Bolshevik after the split of the RSDRP. One of Lenin's twenty-two, he joined the Bureau of Committees of the Majority in 1904. In 1905, he participated in the revolution in Russia and joined the Soviet. He worked for a number of Bolshevik publications, including *Proletarii*, but in 1909, after a disagreement with Lenin, was expelled from the Bolsheviks. He supported the October revolution and worked as a professor at the Communist Academy. He was also a member of the Central Committee of Proletkult and later in the 1920s worked as a director of the first Institute of Blood Transfusion.

### **Vladimir Dmitrievich Bonch-Bruevich (1873–1955)**

Born in Moscow, Bonch-Bruevich became involved in Marxist groups from the early 1890s. Between 1896 and 1905, he lived in Switzerland and was a member of the Emancipation of Labour group and then of the RSDRP. He became a Bolshevik in 1903 and returned to Russia to participate in the 1905 revolution. He worked for a number of revolutionary publications, including *Vpered*. After the establishment of the Bolshevik regime, Bonch-Bruevich held a number of posts, including director of the State Literature Museum and of the Museum of the History of Religion and Atheism. He published a number of memoirs of the revolution and works on the history of religion.

### **Nikolai Ivanovich Bukharin (1888–1938)**

Bukharin became involved in revolutionary activities in 1905. He went abroad in 1911, where he met Lenin and became a contributor to *Pravda* and *Prosveshchenie*. Returning to Russia after the February revolution, he was elected to the

Central Committee of the Party. After the October revolution, Bukharin became the editor of *Pravda*, a leader of the Rabkor movement and a prominent member of the Comintern. For his involvement in the rightist opposition from 1928 he was removed from his posts. After he recanted, he became a presidium member of the USSR Supreme Council of National Economy and later of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. In 1937 he was expelled from the Party, tried and executed as a 'rightist-Trotskyist'.

### **Fedosiia Il'inichna Drabkina (1883–1957)**

Drabkina distributed revolutionary propaganda amongst workers before becoming a member of the Bolsheviks in 1903. During the 1905 revolution, she was a member of the Bolshevik military organisation in St Petersburg and helped deliver ammunition to Moscow for the armed uprising there. She contributed to revolutionary journals such as *Prosveshchenie* and was a member of the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*. In 1917, Drabkina worked for the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party and during the October days, was a secretary to the Military-Revolutionary Committee. After the revolution, Drabkina held a number of posts including head of the secretariat of Istpart. She retired in 1938.

### **Lev Borisovich Kamenev (1883–1936)**

Kamenev joined the RSDRP in 1901. He worked as a Bolshevik both in Russia and in Europe and contributed to a number of revolutionary publications, including *Pravda*. After the February revolution, he became a member of the Central Committee of the Party. He opposed the decision to stage a coup in October. Between 1918 and 1926, he was chairman of the Moscow Soviet. In 1923 he formed the triumvirate against Trotsky with Stalin and Zinov'ev, but in 1925 joined the New Opposition against Stalin. Kamenev was expelled twice from the Party, in 1927 and 1932, but recanted on both occasions and was readmitted. In 1935, Kamenev was imprisoned for conspiring to assassinate Stalin, but a year later was tried for treason and executed.

### **Alexandra Mikhailovna Kollontai (1872–1952)**

Kollontai joined the RSDRP in 1899. After the Party split, Kollontai worked for the Bolsheviks for three years, then became a Menshevik. Between 1908 and 1917, Kollontai lived in Europe and worked as an agitator and publicist. During the war, Kollontai joined the Bolsheviks. She returned to Russia after the February revolution and was elected to the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. Kollontai became the Commissar for Social Welfare after the Bolsheviks seized power. She also supported the work of the *Zhenotdel*, becoming its head after the death of Inessa Armand. She joined the Workers' Opposition in 1920, but left it after the Eleventh Party Congress. In 1922, she became ambassador to Norway, the first woman to hold such a post. One of the few Old Bolsheviks to survive Stalin's purges, Kollontai died in 1952.

## Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaia (1869–1939)

Nadezhda first became involved in the revolutionary movement as a student on the Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses in St Petersburg. While teaching Sunday school classes for workers, she introduced her students to revolutionary propaganda. Having met Lenin, she helped found the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Arrested and exiled for her activities, Nadezhda married Lenin and joined him in his exile in Siberia. In 1901, she went abroad, working for *Iskra* and organising the Second RSDRP Congress. She became a Bolshevik after the split, and continued working to maintain contact between party committees, contributing to revolutionary publications, including *Vpered* and *Proletarii*. She and Lenin returned to Petersburg in 1905, but soon moved abroad once more. Nadezhda helped found the women's newspaper *Rabotnitsa*. She returned to Russia in the sealed train with Lenin and involved herself actively in party work in Petrograd until the October coup, when she joined Narkompros and helped draft the first Soviet education decrees. In 1920, she became the chair of the Main Political Education Committee. She also held a number of other posts, including member of the Central Control Commission. She joined the New Opposition in 1925, but recanted a year later. She suffered a smear campaign at the hands of Stalin, which included her memoirs of Lenin being criticised in *Pravda*. She is buried in Red Square, Moscow.

## Gleb Maksimilianovich Krzhizhanovskii (1872–1959)

Krzhizhanovskii became a revolutionary while studying at the St Petersburg Technical Institute in the early 1890s. He became a member of the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class, and was exiled for his revolutionary activities in 1895. During this period, Krzhizhanovskii married Z.P. Nevzorova. At the Second Party Congress he was elected onto the Central Committee *in absentia*, but resigned in 1904. He continued to work for the Party, involving himself actively in the revolutionary events of 1905 and working for a number of Bolshevik publications. He was based in Moscow during the February revolution and after the October coup was made Chairman of the Committee for the Electrification of Russia. Krzhizhanovskii helped draft the First Five-Year Plan and held a number of other posts including Vice-President of the Academy of Science and member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR.

## Praskovaia Frantsevna Kudelli (1859–1944)

A graduate of the Bestuzhevskii Higher Women's Courses in St Petersburg, Kudelli joined The People's Will in 1878. In the 1890s, she became a Social-Democrat, working as a teacher at worker Sunday schools. It was through this occupation that she met Krupskaia and then Lenin. She worked for a number of party committees before the revolution and contributed to various party publications, including *Iskra* and *Rabotnitsa*. After the February revolution, she worked for *Izvestiia* and *Pravda*, and then participated in the Bolshevik seizure of power. From 1922, she led the Petrograd branch of Istpart, edited *Krasnaia*

*letopis'* and was a member of the editorial board of *Rabotnitsa*. Kudelli also received the Order of Lenin.

### **Georgii Iakovlevich Lozgachev-Elizarov (1906–1972)**

Born near Saratov, Georgii, or Gora, was adopted by Anna and Mark Elizarov in 1913 and became part of the Ul'ianov family and witness to their revolutionary activities. After the October revolution, Gora experienced both the privations caused by the Civil War and the privileges enjoyed by the families of Bolshevik leaders. When Gora finished school in 1922, Anna arranged for him to work as a sailor on the ship the Karl Marx on its journey to London. In 1923, Gora enrolled at the Petrograd Polytechnical Institute in the mechanics faculty. Gora did not complete his course, but instead moved to the Riazan area and took up work at an iron foundry. Then he moved to Tula, where he worked for seven years in a cartridge factory, gradually being promoted. Gora was married twice and had two children.

### **Zinaida Pavlovna Nevzorova-Krzhizhanovskaia (1870–1948)**

Nevzorova graduated from the Bestuzhevskii Higher Women's Courses in 1894. She was arrested and exiled for three years for her involvement in the Union of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class in 1896. During her exile she married G.M. Krzhizhanovskii. In 1901 she worked as an *Iskra* agent in Samara and after the Second Party Congress became a Bolshevik. She worked for various revolutionary journals. After the February revolution, Nevzorova became a member of the Moscow Region Soviet and after the October coup worked for Narkompros. She became dean of the Academy of Communist Education, but after 1927 was unable to work due to illness.

### **Mikhail Stepanovich Ol'minskii (1863–1933)**

Ol'minskii was a student of law at St Petersburg University and joined The People's Will. In 1894, he was imprisoned and held in solitary confinement for four years for his revolutionary activities. After his release, Ol'minskii became a Social-Democrat, joining the Bolsheviks in 1904 when he emigrated to Switzerland. He returned to Russia in 1905 and worked for a number of publications, including *Vpered*. In 1917, he worked for the Bolsheviks in Petrograd and Moscow. After the October coup, he worked briefly at the People's Commissariat of Finance and at *Pravda*, before becoming the head of Istpart and editor of its journal *Proletarskaia revoliutsiia*. From 1928, he was the co-director of the Lenin Institute. He participated in Stalin's campaign against Trotsky and against Kamenev, Zinov'ev and Bukharin. He died in 1933 and is buried in Red Square, Moscow.

### **Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov (1857–1918)**

Plekhanov began his revolutionary career as a member of The People's Will and then joined Land and Liberty. When the latter group split, Plekhanov led the

anti-terrorist Black Repartition group. He left Russia for Switzerland in 1880. In 1883 he founded the Emancipation of Labour group with Pavel Aksel'rod and Vera Zasulich, becoming Russia's leading Marxist. After the formation of the RSDRP, Plekhanov became an editor of *Iskra*, alongside Lenin and Martov. He sympathised with the Mensheviks after the split of the Party in 1903. Returning to Russia after the February revolution, Plekhanov supported the Provisional Government and later that year opposed the Bolshevik seizure of power and the new regime.

### **Alexei Ivanovich Rykov (1881–1938)**

Rykov became a revolutionary while studying at Kazan University. In 1902 he went to Geneva and met Lenin, becoming a Bolshevik after the party split. After the February revolution, he went to Moscow and was elected to the Presidium of the Soviet. He was one of the organisers of the October coup in Petrograd and became the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs in the new government. In 1918 he became chairman of the Supreme Council of National Economy and between 1924 and 1930 was chairman of Sovnarkom. In 1928, he joined the rightists with Bukharin and Tomskii, but recanted in 1930. In 1937, he was expelled from the Party and in 1938 was tried and sentenced to death as a 'rightist-Trotskyist'.

### **Konkordiia Nikolaevna Samoilova (1876–1921)**

Samoilova became a revolutionary while a student on the Bestuzhev Higher Women's Courses in St Petersburg in 1897. Having joined the RSDRP, she worked for a number of party committees across Russia. In 1912 she worked for the editorial board of *Pravda* and *Rabotnitsa*. After the February revolution, Samoilova conducted propaganda amongst workers in Petrograd. Once the Bolshevik regime had been established, Samoilova became the chair of the Petrograd Commission for Work Among Women Workers and helped to organise two conferences for women workers. She also worked at *Pravda* and *Kommunistka*. In the last year of her life, she led the political department of the agitation steamer The Red Star.

### **Aleksandr Gavrilovich Shliapnikov (1885–1937)**

A St Petersburg metalworker, Shliapnikov joined the RSDRP in 1901 and then the Bolsheviks after the split in 1903. Often imprisoned for his revolutionary activities he left Russia in 1908. During the First World War, he operated as a liaison between the Bolshevik Central Committee abroad and the Bolsheviks in Russia. During the February revolution, Shliapnikov was a member of the Executive Committee of the Petrograd Soviet as well as a leading trade union figure. After the Bolshevik coup, he became People's Commissar of Labour. In 1921, he led the Workers' Opposition, and after its defeat, continued to be critical of the Party. In 1933, he was expelled from the Party. He was arrested and shot in 1937.

### **Elena Dmitrievna Stasova (1873–1966)**

Stasova began her revolutionary activities teaching at Sunday schools for workers in St Petersburg, alongside Krupskaja. She joined the RSDRP in 1898 and worked for the party in Russia and abroad, suffering a number of imprisonments and periods of exile. She arrived in Petrograd shortly after the February revolution and participated in the October coup. She worked for the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party between 1917 and 1920 and for the Comintern between 1921 and 1926. In the 1930s, she became a member of the Central Control Commission and worked for a number of anti-war committees. From 1935, she was a member of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. She died in 1966 and was buried in Red Square in Moscow.

### **Mikhail Pavlovich Tomskii (1880–1936)**

Tomskii joined the RSDRP in 1904. He helped form a Soviet in Revel' during the 1905 revolution and was exiled to Siberia for his activities. He escaped and returned to St Petersburg where he worked for a Trade Union. He held a number of Trade Union posts in the Bolshevik regime, including General Secretary of the Trade Union International. In 1922, he became a member of the Central Committee of the Party and the Politburo. He was a leading figure of the rightist opposition in 1928 and, despite recanting the following year, was removed from his posts. He committed suicide to avoid arrest during the purges.

### **Lev Davydovich Trotsky (1879–1940)**

Trotsky supported the RSDRP from its formation. At the split of the party in 1903, he became a Menshevik, but soon adopted a more neutral position, trying to reconcile the two groups. He led the Soviet in Petrograd in 1905 and joined the Bolsheviks in July 1917. Having played a leading role in the October revolution, Trotsky became the People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs and then Commissar for War in the new government. In 1923, Trotsky took an oppositional stance against the centralisation of the Party and in 1925 was removed from his posts. In 1926 he joined the United Opposition. For this, he was expelled from the Party in 1927 and deported from the USSR in 1929. In exile, he called for a new International to be established in opposition to the Comintern. He was murdered in Mexico by a Stalinist agent.

### **Dmitrii Il'ich Ul'ianov (1874–1943)**

Born on 4 August 1874, Dmitrii was the youngest son of the Ul'ianov family. Like his siblings, he did well at school and, when the family moved to Moscow in 1893, he enrolled at the university to study medicine. By then Dmitrii had already been introduced to revolutionary ideas by Anna and Vladimir and, once at university, he joined the radical student community there. Dmitrii became a member of the Moscow Workers' Union, working as a propagandist representing the body at the Allied Council of United Student Societies and at workers' meetings in Moscow factories.



In November 1897, he was arrested for his revolutionary activities and held in solitary confinement in Taganka prison. Released the following summer, he was exiled to Tula. After Mariia Aleksandrovna appealed to the authorities, Dmitrii was allowed to live in the family home in Podol'sk and, eventually, to complete his studies. He also continued to work for the revolutionary movement in St Petersburg.

In 1902, having qualified as a doctor, Dmitrii began work in Samara, while also joining the RSDRP committee there. He attended the first *Iskra* conference and became an agent for the newspaper. Dmitrii was assigned to Odessa where he both took up work as a doctor and joined the revolutionary committee. As a member, he attended worker meetings and ensured the group received illegal literature. He also met Antonina Ivanovna Neshcheretova, a medical assistant, whom he would marry in November.

Having been arrested briefly that summer, Dmitrii was barred from working in Odessa, so he moved to Tula. He was chosen to be one of the Tula representatives to attend the Second Congress of the RSDRP, held in the summer of 1903. On returning from the Congress, Dmitrii settled in Kiev where his wife, sisters and mother were living. Here they worked for the newly established Russian Bureau of the Central Committee of the RSDRP. In January 1904, the police moved against the Bureau, arresting and imprisoning Dmitrii and many others. After eleven months in prison, Dmitrii moved to Simbirsk to take up employment as a doctor, pursuing his particular interest of improving the living conditions of the peasantry and preventing cholera epidemics. He also joined the local RSDRP committee.

After the revolution of 1905, Dmitrii was sacked from his post, due to his revolutionary connections. The following July, he moved to Lipitino, in the Moscow region, and both found work as a doctor and made contact with party activists in Moscow. Dmitrii worked in the Moscow region until 1911, when he moved to the Crimea and settled with his wife in Fedosiia. Despite being under police surveillance, he continued to work for the Bolsheviks, organising the transportation of illegal literature.

When the First World War broke out, Dmitrii was conscripted as an army doctor and throughout the conflict he worked in the Crimea. In 1916, he and his wife separated, and Dmitrii married Aleksandra Fedorovna Karpova, whom he had met in Sevastopol'. His son Viktor was born in 1917. During the civil war, Dmitrii participated in the campaign against the Whites and then helped establish the Soviet regime in the Crimea, taking on the posts of Deputy Chairman of the region's Sovnarkom and People's Commissar of Public Health (Narkomzdrav).

In March 1921, Dmitrii's daughter Ol'ga was born. By now, Dmitrii spent much of his time in Moscow, working for the People's Commissariat of Public Health. He also took on a number of other roles: he was head of the Central Administration of Crimean Health Resorts, he worked at the Sverdlov University and was a member of the Scientific Sector of the Commission for the Assistance of Learning. He was also a delegate to the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Party Congresses.

After Lenin's death, Dmitrii contributed to the establishment of museums to his late brother and wrote various reminiscences of him. He died on 16 July 1943.

**Grigorii Evseevich Zinov'ev (1883–1936)**

Zinov'ev joined the RSDRP in 1901 and became a Bolshevik at the split of the Party. In 1905, he participated in the revolution in St Petersburg and in 1907 became a member of the Bolshevik Central Committee. He went abroad to escape arrest and worked for *Proletarii* and *Pravda*. Zinov'ev returned to Russia with Lenin after the February revolution. He opposed the October coup, but became the Chair of the Comintern. In 1923, he formed the triumvirate against Trotsky with Stalin and Kamenev, but in 1925 joined the New Opposition against Stalin. He was expelled from the Party twice and was readmitted twice after admitting his errors. In 1935, he was imprisoned for conspiring to assassinate Stalin, but a year later was tried for treason and executed.

# Appendix 4 Bibliography of Works by Anna Il'inichna Ul'ianova-Elizarova

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I have alphabetised this bibliography by title, but continued to note Anna's name for each entry because the form Anna's name takes is important. Generally Anna published under her married name, but she reverted to her maiden name when writing reminiscences of Lenin or other family members.

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The lives of Lenin's sisters, Anna, Ol'ga and Mariia Ul'ianova, have largely been ignored in English-language histories of the Russian revolutionary movement. *Forgotten Lives* is the first English-language monograph to explore fully their lives and work, and the role they played in the Russian revolution. It traces Ol'ga's youth and tragic early death while at university, and explores Anna and Mariia's early revolutionary careers and contributions to the underground movement. It follows the sisters' work for the Party and the state after the Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917 and explores the sisters' relationship with Lenin and how they coped with Stalin's rise to power. The portrayal of the sisters in Soviet and English-language histories is also discussed, with a view to correcting some of the misconceptions about them and restoring these largely forgotten lives to the history of the revolution.

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